# The transnational chains of super-exploitation in the 21st century: the experiences of Haitian workers in Brazil

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by

**Francis Vinicius Portes Virginio**
**Department of Work, Employment and Organisation**
**University of Strathclyde, Glasgow**

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.



This study was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines and data protection guidelines of the University of Strathclyde. It obtained the approval of an Ethics Committee at the University of Strathclyde.

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## Abstract

This thesis discusses the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil. It refers to the emerging patterns of south-south migration and the incorporation of international migrant labour into the strategies for economic development in the Global South. The study makes an innovative contribution to the conceptualisation of super-exploitation in contemporary capitalism, particularly in relation to the field of social reproduction.

The concept of super-exploitation has been a theoretical alternative to northern centric conceptual frameworks of employment relations and its relationship with strategies for economic development in the Global South. The conventional definition is that super-exploitation drives the wages of workers below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. While this argument is technically correct, the literature has undertheorized the way in which super-exploitation has occurred in Southern countries and how international migration represents a new chapter in the expansion of super-exploitation. This thesis argues that the definition of super-exploitation can be refined by a better understanding of the social composition of the workforce in these countries, in other words, by understanding the specific historical and contextual conditions which shape the social reproduction of super-exploited workers.

This thesis, therefore, aims to re-conceptualise super-exploitation by exploring the multidimensional dynamics and the patterns of social reproduction it assumes in the experiences of a particular group of workers, migrants from Haiti in Brazil. Forty-two semi-structured interviews were collected with Haitian migrants in Brazil and analysed alongside immigration and labour market statistics. Three key themes emerged from those interviews and were organised into three chapters: citizenship, transnational network relations and employment. Findings showed that Haitians are super-exploited in Brazil because their social reproduction is overdetermined by a constellation of political-citizenship and community/networking relationships which, although crucial for the survival of Haitians, contribute to their subordination to super-exploitation. Therefore, super-exploitation can be defined more accurately as a combination of economic and non-economic forces that entangle productive-reproductive-exploitative relationships, thereby shaping the dependence of workers on wages below the value necessary for their social reproduction. In showing these

entanglements, this study offers a better understanding of how south-south migration relates to the emerging forms of labour exploitation in the 21st century in Latin America.

**Key-words**: super-exploitation, social reproduction, south-south migration, formalised informality and buffer zones

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this work will contribute to the improvement of what continues to be a challenging but necessary debate on the situation of migrant workers in contemporary capitalism.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Rationale

The study of the super-exploitation of Haitian workers refers to the emerging patterns of south-south migration and their links with new forms of labour exploitation within peripheral countries or the so-called Global South.

Previous research has related south-south migration to super-exploitation as an outcome of the deterioration of working conditions and rapidly economic growth in some countries of the Global South. While the super-exploitation of workers has attracted transnational capital to these peripheral areas, it has pushed workers to emigrate to northern developed countries. However, the governance of migration maintains a mass supply of workers within peripheral countries in the Global South where they are subject to super-exploitative conditions. This understanding, while crucial, is insufficient to theorize the full character of super-exploitation because, in the context of south-south migration, migrant workers are not only an effect of super-exploitative practices within the workplace but also incorporated into new systems of super-exploitation in the region. This requires a deeper grasp of how super-exploitation has been reproduced in peripheral countries and to what extent the super-exploitation of these migrant workers distinguishes itself from more commonly understood forms of super-exploitation.

Therefore, the emergence of new patterns of international migration in Latin America allow for new possibilities in the understanding of super-exploitation. Based on the tensions between labour exploitation and the specific struggles of Haitians for social reproduction in Brazil, this thesis advances the understanding of contemporary super-exploitation. It shows contextual and structural dynamics in Brazil and Haiti which impact on the experiences of workers in the workplace, connecting the formation of super-exploitation to a variety of broader social struggles which were previously under-analysed in the literature. This introductory chapter will show the importance of this study for the literature and will outline how this thesis intends to develop an

innovative conceptual framework to address the current limitations in the understanding of super-exploitation in the 21st century.

### 1.2 Background

South-south migration has significantly increased over the last two decades and has been the predominant pattern of migration worldwide. There is an escalating number of workers who are fleeing structural poverty, unemployment, violence, climate change and environmental disasters in Southern countries – here defined as peripheral countries or simply the periphery – in addition to the growing number of internally displaced people, who are forced to move within their own countries of origin due to similar structural conditions and lack of alternatives (IOM, 2015). In 2015, approximately 90.2 million international migrants born in developing countries resided in other southern countries, while 85.3 million born in the South resided in the developed countries (IOM, 2015).

South-south migration arises as a response to the conditions of labour exploitation in the Global South and to how people have been systematically stripped of their homes, land and sufficient means of subsistence. This situation is closely related to the global chains of production and the neoliberal re-shaping of living and working conditions to attract transnational capital in southern countries: these countries are commonly marked by social disinvestment – particularly in state-provided services –, an escalation of precarious employment, extremely low wages and high unemployment rates (Delgado Wise, 2017; Selwyn, 2018). These structural challenges are exacerbated by a long legacy of colonial structures as well as gendered and racialized social inequalities, creating further difficulties for indigenous people to access social rights and dignified working conditions to ensure their social reproduction – that is to say, the economic means to meet their basic subsistence needs (Ferguson and McNally, 2015; Lloyd-Evans, 2008). Therefore, these processes of emigration relate not only to technical transformations of employment relations but also to the broader political economy of contemporary capitalism manifested in the everyday lives of workers in the Global South (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013). This will

be the focus of this thesis and which will be explored through the notion of super-exploitation**.**

Embedded in the neoliberal rationale, a number of peripheral countries have encouraged the emigration of workers. As a market player, the neoliberal state has aimed to maximize returns from potential remittances sent from migrants overseas and to disengage from the aforementioned social costs of neoliberalism (Phillips, 2009) – a critical issue for rapidly growing populations in many peripheral countries. Subsequent regional inequalities and social frictions (Tsing, 2009) point to the failure of neoliberalism as a development project. This is especially evident when we look at the social implications of accommodating capital in southern countries. Hence, the struggle of workers to survive in neoliberal economies has pushed an abundant young labour force in these sending countries to become a supply of labour abroad. This scenario has reinforced migration as an alternative to mitigate the lack of local development rather than a means to achieve it (Castles, 2010).

While the number of migrant workers from these countries has increased, the prevalent discriminatory immigration policies in developed countries have pushed migrants to new destinations within southern countries in the periphery of capitalism – meaning south-south migration has increased. In addition, this emigration is increasingly unplanned (i.e. caused by environmental disaster, war and systematic violence, as well as persecution) which makes neighbouring peripheral countries more likely destinations. This is vividly illustrated by millions of international migrants who risk their lives to cross borders every day or who are living in refugee camps in peripheral countries – specially in regions with relatively more reliable economies or which are located at the crossroads of developed economies and the Global South, such as in North Africa, Mexico, Turkey and Greece (Grange and Flynn, 2015; IOM, 2015; UNHCR, 2018).

Meanwhile, there has been rapid economic growth and rising wages in some peripheral countries in the Global South such as Brazil, India and China, since the beginning of the 21st century (Stuenkel, 2017). Further regional inequalities within the periphery became a major factor in re-shaping southern migratory flows and have thus complicated the implications for labour, requiring analyses beyond the limits of binary divisions between the Global North and the Global South. Migrant workers have been attracted by promises of economic and social development as well as positive rhetoric

towards migration in these relatively stronger peripheral economies. These workers have been granted a visa and permission to work in exchange for their labour power and contribution to local development in the receiving peripheral countries.

The reality for workers is distinct to what these supposedly 'win-win' capital-labour relations pertaining to new commodity chains, suggest (Gereffi, 2014; Horner, 2016, Selwyn, 2018). These have not only been unfulfilled promises but foremost contributed to the emergence of new and acute forms of labour exploitation. This means that 'emerging' peripheral countries have used increasing political and economic influence to optimise their incorporation into the global market – often by making domestic and foreign recruited labour cheaper and more vulnerable to exploitation. As this thesis will show, even where there have been some moderate improvements in official wage levels in, for example, Brazil, the increased use of international migrant workers in these peripheral countries has contributed to the creation of new social hierarchies among the local working classes that, combined with local forms of subordination – have transformed the exploitation of international migrants in peripheral countries into a new Eldorado for capitalists. While foreign workers are an increasing part of the workforce in southern labour markets, their struggle has received surprisingly little attention from the conventional literature (Munck, 2008; 2013; Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2009; Fishwick and Selwyn, 2016). Therefore, these new migration patterns have imposed new theoretical and empirical challenges for understanding the experiences of workers in their relationship with the local strategies for economic development and labour exploitation in Latin America (Fishwick and Selwyn, 2016; Horner, 2016).

This is the situation of Haitian workers in Brazil. Emigration has been a central coping mechanism in response to socio-economic and political problems in Haiti. The country is not only the poorest in the Western hemisphere but has also been marked by several international interventions and authoritarian governments, which have created an ongoing structural vulnerability (Dupuy, 2014; James, 2001; Truillot, 2012; Seguy, 2014). More than half of the Haitian population is under 25 years old and the youth unemployment rate has been consistently over 35% – the highest in Latin America (World Bank, 2018). These trends are aggravated by the increasing mechanization of production, demographic growth, rapid urbanisation and the lack of adequate public social services – i.e. public education, health and housing and

sanitation conditions (World Bank, 2018). In addition to this social composition in Haiti, the local working conditions have also been deleterious for Haitians.

In 2004, The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (2004-2017) – *MINUSTAH* – was implemented to address several alleged humanitarian issues in Haiti (UN, 2018; Seguy, 2014). The mission was coordinated by 'traditional' developed countries – i.e. France, United States and Canada – and by an unusually high number of Latin American countries, the latter of which contributed to the dissemination of a rhetoric of anti-imperialist solidarity in the Latin American region and to a reduction of anti-establishment resistance from the working class. Brazil was among these countries and played a leadership role in this mission by coordinating its military component. The controversial development model implemented has failed to provide Haitian workers with sufficient employment and income to attend to their local needs. Like many other peripheral countries, Haiti has integrated itself into the global market by exporting the physical labour of its abundant young labour force as a commodity to other countries and by organising very exploitive conditions in its small and export-oriented domestic market (Dupuy, 2014; Seguy, 2014). This social organisation and its privileged geographic location makes production costs in Haiti among the cheapest in the world for developed countries in the region – for instance, the United States, accounts for 70% of Haitians exports (World Bank, 2018). On the other hand, one outcome of this scenario is that indigenous workers lack sufficient wages for their social reproduction – from labour and social services – and the remittance payments sent by Haitian migrants from abroad is a critical source of income for both the Haitian state and for Haitians who struggle against the structural reality previously described (World Bank, 2018).

Most recently, this tendency has been aggravated by climate change, deforestation and natural disasters which have certainly contributed to the overall lack of progress and the increasing emigration of local citizens. One critical example of this is the 2010 natural disaster in which over 250,000 people died and which caused widespread destruction throughout the country worsening the extremely difficult living and working conditions in Haiti. The outcome has been that Haitians increasingly leave their country in need of financial remittances to send back home – financial remittances are by far the main source of revenue in Haiti, amounting to more than 30% of the national GDP (World Bank, 2018). Because Haitian migrants have faced a

range of restrictions in entering developed countries, Brazil's rapid economic growth made it an attractive and realistic destination for them.

In Brazil, the 21st century reallocation of capital pursuing new investment opportunities (particularly after the financial crisis) was perceived as a window of opportunity for national economic development. The penetration of foreign direct investment into the country was largely possible due to the state encouragement of export of commodities and the extraction of natural resources during the commodities super-cycle, that is, a medium-term rise in commodity prices driven by population growth and infrastructure projects in developing countries, mainly in China. The government of the Workers' Party (2003-2016) used this favourable international scenario and widespread public dissatisfaction with neoliberal reforms in the previous decade to commit the Brazilian state to a particular model of economic development. Launched by the government of Brazil's former president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), the model was characterised by an attempt at class conciliation under the auspicious of a development model, in which both workers and the local elites would benefit from economic growth (Singer, 2012). On one hand, Brazil implemented its social and consumer-led policies domestically, increasing wages, employment and worker access to credit. On the other hand, the country pleased the dominant class with more flexible labour legislation, high interest rates to attract an inflow of foreign capital, tax exceptions for multinational companies and public investment in infrastructure, creating means for a faster and cheaper circulation of capital across borders (i.e. highways, airports and harbours) (Gonçalves, 2013, Antunes, 2014; Boito Jr., 2013). This investment in infrastructure was also known to be a widespread form of collusion padded with government contracts between large-scale construction companies and the political classes in Brazil and abroad (Watts, 2016). Therefore, this strategy for economic development did not directly challenge structural inequality between the local social classes, keeping workers vulnerable to the most egregious forms of labour exploitation.

Moreover, the progressive facade of this government and its modest social reforms contributed to quieting the rising voices of workers against neoliberalism – and sat aside other strategies for repressing indigenous struggles and co-opting the leadership of trade unions and social movements (for further discussion Avelar, 2017; Braga and Purdy, 2018; Druck, 2006; Sauer and Mészáros, 2017; Verga-Camus and

Kay, 2017). This indicates how the mode of class conciliation did not exist. Rather, it depends on repressive labour regimes and on social manoeuvres to create employment in construction, for example. This required large supplies of cheap labour –, which were particularly important for offsetting labour contraction in the local development model. In this respect, mechanisation of mining and large scale agribusiness typified these export oriented sectors. In this sense, the substantial economic growth of Brazil, failed to stop a longstanding pattern of commodity production and labour exploitation, shaping its peripheral inclusion in the global market as a provider of cheap goods and labour to core economies.

Furthermore, this scenario facilitated Brazil's geopolitical strategy to seek more of a political and economic leadership among peripheral countries – namely south-south relations. For instance, the creation of southern geopolitical blocs such as UNASUL (Union of South American Nations) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India; China and South Africa) and the hosting of large-scale international events such as the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympic games in 2016. These mega sports events were allocated large sums of public money allegedly to attract international investment and to rapidly improve the infrastructure of the country.

On a related note, this focus on south-south relations led Brazil to play a central role in the humanitarian mission in Haiti, the aforementioned MINUSTAH. This humanitarian relationship between Brazil and Haiti was an attempt to replicate the model of class accommodation implemented in Brazil abroad, which created a symbolic and material basis to link Haitians to Brazil. Not only did it facilitate Brazil's military presence in Haiti, but also it was a determining factor in the creation of a humanitarian visa status for Haitian workers after the massive arrival of Haitians following the 2010 earthquake. The positive rhetoric towards international migration and, more specifically, Brazil's response to Haitian migration not only tested Brazil's south-south rhetoric of solidarity towards Haiti but also the wider geopolitical project of the local dominant class implemented at the time (Boito Jr. and Berringer, 2013; Reis, 2011). One outcome of this action is reflected in the approximately 40,000 Haitian workers – the vast majority being young males –, included in the Brazilian labour market through a Humanitarian visa programme. In addition, approximately 30,000 more Haitians entered Brazil through irregular means at the time, making Haitians the most numerous international workers in the Brazilian labour market in the

last century (OBMigra, 2016). Although this five year-humanitarian visa programme did not impose employment restrictions on Haitians and entitled them to full labour market access, these workers were rapidly subjected to extremely precarious working and living conditions mainly in the expanding agribusiness and infrastructure sectors. These new patterns of south-south migration provide for new geopolitical and economic insights in to the contemporary global economy and invite new theoretical and conceptual challenges that are explored below.

### 1.3 Literature Review

The emerging social, economic and political challenges emanating from intensified south-south migration and the labour exploitation of these workers have received little theoretical attention from the literature. It remains dependent on conventional frameworks which are insufficient for fully theorizing the links between the ongoing expansion of capitalism in the periphery and the experiences of migrant workers therein. In particular, the way the literature on labour migration is presently articulated reflects structural conditions and patterns of subordination most usually existing in developed countries. This is because studies, even those addressing Global South phenomena, predominantly adopt a northern centric perspective which draws upon conventional south-north migration and on Keynesian welfare models – it became a hegemonic model of social policies and services in developed countries, especially after the Second World War (Stewart and Garvey, 2015). These analyses of labour migration focus on restrictive immigration policies and the criminalisation of irregular migration (Anderson, 2010; Aliverti, 2012; De Giorgi, 2010; McGovern, 2012) as causes of the subordination of migrant workers to the most vulnerable precarious forms of labour exploitation. These measures ensure international migrants have a distinct access to citizenship status and the welfare state (social wages), which has at the same time facilitated their subordination in local labour markets and their incorporation into local strategies for economic development. While the neoliberal state benefits from the labour power of foreign workers, it denies these workers the central conditions which are essential for protecting the social reproduction of the rest

of the local working class. In other words, it rearranges a social configuration in a specific context to the existing operations of capital (i.e. production, exchange, logistic and financial operations) worldwide (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2019). Migrants, in turn, continue to arrive in the receiving countries as these workers depend on emigration and on sending remittance payments home to ensure the social reproduction of their family and community networks in their countries of origin. Therefore, this broader social organisation is not secondary but constitutive of the conditions for labour exploitation in which workers are embedded.

The central limitation in these perspectives (i.e. Anderson, 2010; Aliverti, 2012; De Giorgi, 2010; McGovern, 2012) is that they have little in common with how capitalism has reproduced itself in peripheral countries. These nations are subject to a different historical process of development and class relations which impacts on the condition of social reproduction and labour exploitation (Biles, 2009; Kowarick, 1980, Pun, 2016; Smith and Pun, 2018; Munck, 2013; Oliveira, 2006; Xiang, 2013). For example, peripheral countries, such as Brazil, have long been marked by colonial legacies, dictatorships, racial discrimination, structural poverty and extremely precarious labour conditions, which are not only past events, but also enduring conditions that have predominantly shaped repressive rather than protective forms of labour control. This means that full citizenship status has been insufficient to provide workers with decent working and living conditions or to repair social inequalities from colonialism or dictatorships. A similar rationale is appropriated for the peripheral role these countries play in the global market, illustrated by their dependence on the exports of their natural resources, and how their economies are constantly undermined by this subordinated position, creating complex structural dynamics and disparities across peripheral countries which are receiving migrants or their remittance payments. A conceptual framework thus is vital to theorise these emergent tensions between the experiences of migrant workers and the ongoing struggle for development in peripheral countries. This thesis argues that the notion of super-exploitation accurately fulfils these specifications. It explores how super-exploitation allows a deeper understanding of the relationship between south-south migration and the forms of labour exploitation in the 21st century in Latin America.

### 1.4 The rebirth of super-exploitation in the 21st century

The high rates of economic growth in recent times – due largely to the commodity exports in peripheral countries such as Brazil – have seen renewed interest in the concept of super-exploitation and its relevance in explaining capital-labour relations in these countries (Valencia, 2008; 2017; Selwyn, 2018). One of the most conventional definitions of super-exploitation was advanced by Marini (1973; 1978) in the 1970s during discussions of Latin American development. Marini understood that conventional theoretical frameworks were insufficient to explain the specific conditions which shape the reproduction of capitalism in Latin America and their impact on local development and, more importantly, on the struggle of Latin American workers. To Marini, super-exploitation meant that the predominant form of labour exploitation in Latin America drives the wages of workers below the value of their labour power and thus provides them with wages lower than those necessary for their social reproduction – i.e. the basic social relations which must be satisfied for the subsistence of these workers. Drawing on Dependency Theory, Marini argued that the dominant class super-exploit workers in Latin America to compensate for their competitive/profit losses in the global market. While super-exploitation allowed local elites to make profits, it served to subsidise the economic growth of developed countries by offering cheap primary commodity products (i.e. food items and natural resources) for these countries. Over time, the colonial structure was maintained in a certain way to promote development in developed countries and inhibit it in the periphery. These conditions of exchange enabled developed countries not only to reduce the cost of the social reproduction of local workers, but also to add value to local production through technological innovation and manufacturing. In this sense, super-exploitation can be understood as the combination of the peripheral condition of these countries in the global market and the strategies of local elites for economic development.

One of Marini's strategies for presenting evidence for super-exploitation is by focusing on workplace dynamics. He illustrated super-exploitation by highlighting processes of intensification and extensification of the working day as well as the expropriation of worker's consumption fund as an extra source of capital accumulation. These strategies allowed employers to extract extra-value from the working class.

Workers, on the other hand, had their social reproduction compromised, because they did not have the physical and material conditions to reinvigorate their labour power from exhaustive working shifts. For Marini, this constituted the super-exploitation of these workers. Marini's definition has inspired several contributions to the understanding of employment relations in Latin America and on the broader consequences of super-exploitation on pauperisation and social issues in this context (Martins, 2017; Marini, Traspadini, and Stedile, 2005; Valencia, 2008). The question now is how Marini's definition of super-exploitation can be expanded to explain the south-south migration-development nexus and, more specifically, the experiences of Haitian workers in Brazil.

In the last two decades, the international literature has evoked the rebirth of super-exploitation (Marini, 1973) to explain deeper processes by which the contemporary capitalist system is being organised (Valencia, 2015, 2017; Latimer, 2016; Martins, 2017; Roberts, 2016; Selwyn, 2018; Smith, 2016). This is because although several developing countries have been progressively integrated into the global market, their participation remains increasingly dependent on the exports of commodities and the appalling working conditions of the domestic workforce. With a few exceptions, although these authors developed their analyses in different ways, their use of super-exploitation is similar to Marini's understanding of this concept: that super-exploitation occurs when capital drives wages below the labour power of workers. Their argument is that, in addition to the conventional forms of value extraction, (that is relative and absolute surplus value), super-exploitation has expanded and become a structural necessity that capitalism requires in order to reproduce itself. Their dominant focus, however, is on the role super-exploitation plays in the global restructuring of production rather than the way it occurs in the workplace – which was one of the foundations for Marini's conceptualisation. They show that the incorporation of super-exploitation into global capitalism is an imperialist strategy which aims to compensate for systemic economic crises (Higginbottom, 2010). The standardization of exploitative conditions and access to a surplus population enables wider circulation of capital in the global market. As there is more competition in the globalised economy, which worsens working conditions everywhere, the surplus value extracted from labour is more unstable thus increasing pressure on workers and their working conditions (Marini, 1996; 2008). This explains in general terms how the

ongoing neoliberal strategies for capital accumulation have pushed down wages undermining working conditions everywhere including the outsourcing of production, the flexibilization of employment relations and the substitution of workers by mechanisation.

### 1.5 Super-exploitation and Migration

The current patterns of migration are an expression of this systemic organisation of super-exploitation. It has created unprecedented levels of migration among workers who are attempting to escape from the reality super-exploitation entails. Both workers and their sending countries are depending on emigration to ensure their reproduction. While hegemonic models of development aim to attract capital by driving wages below the level of labour power, local workers are forced to emigrate in an attempt to ensure their social reproduction abroad. The aim of workers is to ensure their own subsistence as well as that of their families and community members who remained in their countries of origin, which in turn also makes the incoming remittances important for these peripheral states due to their increasing pauperisation in the neoliberal era (Delgado Wise, 2017, Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; De Hass, 2005; Phillips, 2009, Portes, 2016). The outcome is the escalation of transnational patterns of social reproduction among migrants, in which workers' daily lives are marked by the separation between places of production and of their social reproduction (Ferguson and McNally, 2015). The inflow of personal remittance payments to developing countries has increased from less than $50 billion to over $529 billion in the last three decades and serves to illustrate this important tendency (World Bank, 2019).

Consequently, the transnational dimension becomes central to exploring the relationship between super-exploitation and migration. Developed countries allow for the inflow of capital extracted through super-exploitation but not of super-exploited people from peripheral countries (Smith, 2016). The massive emigration of individuals from the periphery has been 'accompanied by the multiplication of borders and the operation of zoning technologies that make the space of global capital all but smooth' (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p.203). The criminalisation of unauthorized migration

and high deportation numbers are manifestations of this process (De Genova, 2002; Martinez, 2013). They serve to regulate the number and vulnerability of migrant workers in labour markets. This has been accompanied by divisions in the working class – specifically, citizenship status and nationality – that, combined with local forms of social hierarchisation and colonial legacies including gender, ethnicity and race, has allowed the advance of capital over labour (Gottfried, 2000; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008; Tsing, 2009).

This is precisely what links south-south migration to super-exploitation in the periphery. These regulations restrict workers' mobility so that a large supply of labour remains concentrated in peripheral countries. This contributes to sustaining wage differentials among countries (Smith, 2016), because the transnational movement of workers is restricted which prevents them from accessing better employment conditions abroad and instead concentrates 'surplus' zones of low waged workers seeking employment. This means workers are condemned to super-exploitation within the periphery and to experience 'a distorted reflection of global differences in the rate of exploitation (simply, the difference between the value generated by a worker and what s/he receives in wages)' (Smith, 2015, p.2). Therefore, the governance of migration facilitates the existence of large supply of labour, and labour fit for super-exploitation, within the Global South.

Given this systemic organisation of super-exploitation, why does super-exploitation deserve further theorization to explain the situation of migrant workers? What is distinct about the situation of migrant workers in peripheral countries in comparison to that of migrant workers in developed countries? Why does the super-exploitation of international migrant workers in peripheral countries represent a new chapter in the understanding of this concept? All these wider questions serve to orient this thesis and its research rationale, showing how the situation of Haitian workers is not only an effect of super-exploitative practices within the Global South but also how they are incorporated into new systems of super-exploitation in the region.

### 1.6 Rethinking super-exploitation

This is the point in which the current understanding of super-exploitation presents its limitations. Previous studies have shown that international migrant workers are not restricted in the Global South but also they are increasingly numerous in peripheral countries. While capital historically uses migration to manage particular worker and occupational groups, in recent years and notably in the case of super-exploitation in Brazil, it has used migration to regulate the new forms of super-exploitation, the subject of this thesis – which itself has a deeply racialized dimension. However, the existing literature has under-analysed how international migrant labour benefits the local strategies for development, mainly in fast expanding sectors which were conventionally supplied with labour from a domestic migrant labour force such as has been the case in Brazil in relation to Haitian workers. The tendency to focus on the technical aspect of super-exploitation and the perspective of capital (meaning wages which are below the labour power of workers), is a necessary, but at the same time under-developed, aspect of this concept.

Super-exploitation is the outcome of social processes, rather than a spontaneous event. One problem with the existing literature is that the definition of super-exploitation remains abstract as it offers little insight into how capital *is able to* drive wages below the value of the labour power of workers – i.e. the very social dynamics which constitute the process of super-exploitation. Another limitation is that a system of super-exploitation is not only built on international relations between developed and developing countries, but also on their interconnections which exist within and beyond this inter-state framework – i.e. local class struggles and emerging social actors involved in this process. With regards to international migration, these can be a myriad of social actors such as transnational companies, humanitarian agencies, smugglers and transnational gangs. This approach is fundamental to explain the super-exploitation of international migrants in contemporary capitalism because it recognizes the role and the limitations of the receiving state in the formation of super-exploitation.

To address these limitations, there is a need to move from the perspective of capital to focus on the experiences of workers – the perspective from *below*. Previous

studies on super-exploitation have focused on the restructuring of production and its impacts on workplace dynamics to conceptualise super-exploitation. In Brazil, the fact that capital mobilizes a supply of labour of continental proportions creates a singular condition for the *standardization* of super-exploitation in the country. As will be shown this has been reproduced historically, but also aggravated by the advancement of neoliberalism. This broad but essential definition, however, is incomplete when attempting to explain how super-exploitation remains predominant in the country and, in this specific study, how Haitians are rendered super-exploitable in labour intensive sectors. More broadly, this means that the permanence of workers in peripheral countries alone does not explain what leads workers to subordinate themselves to super-exploitative practices in the workplace in these areas and elsewhere. So, the question must not be only about the relevance of Marini's notion of super-exploitation, but also about how this definition can be expanded to explain contemporary forms of super-exploitation.

This thesis serves to address this element by a particular empirical work exploring the nature of social relations which enable the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil. In developing the analyses of contemporary super exploitation and its relation to migrant labour, this thesis introduces several new ideas/concepts, specifically, these include, peripheral *inclusion*, *formalised informality* and *buffer zones* that will be defined and described in turn in Chapter 4 and 5. These conceptual tools contribute to showing that super-exploitation refers to more than the additional surplus value extracted in production, or the mere difference between the wages of workers minus the sum of all the financial costs necessary to ensure their social reproduction. These narrow definitions under-interpret the social composition and the agency of workers which are necessary for super-exploitation to function and, thus, to ensure the systematic reproduction of this form of labour exploitation. Instead, this thesis treat super-exploitation as an outcome of the multidimensional struggle of workers to ensure their social reproduction within and beyond workplace.

### 1.7 Research Scope and Analytical framework

This study employs the social reproduction approach to critically reconsider the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil. Situated within a Marxist framework, mainly advanced by feminist scholars in the last three decades (Dixon, 1977; Federici, 2012; Goldring and Landolt, 2011; Katz, 2001; Vogel, 2008; Strauss, 2013), the social reproduction approach provides an innovative way of explaining structural inequalities – in and beyond the workplace – and labour market outcomes. Based on forms of gendered oppression, the literature has shown how a set of social relations essential for the reproduction of the working class, in both unwaged and waged labour, have disproportionally been carried out by women – e.g. reproductive labour –, shaping their conditions of exploitation and vulnerability in contemporary capitalism (Dixon, 1977; Fraser, 2016). Within this approach, what is important for this thesis is that it dovetails and links hidden costs and processes of reproduction as constitutive of labour market outcomes and the amount necessary for social reproduction of workers. Therefore, these phenomena are mutually constitutive of each other.

The social reproduction approach thus reveals an unrealised potential to the understanding of super-exploitation. It is argued that such an approach reveals the social composition of migrant workers, that is to say, family, cultural, citizenship relations, welfare benefits and community dynamics – which are part of the social reproduction of working class as a whole in contemporary capitalism and so far under-explored in the theorization of super-exploitation. It also highlights the importance of the perspective of workers, because their narratives about the multidimensional nature of their struggle links potential pressures and challenges for their social reproduction in their workplace, particularly in subordinating themselves to super-exploitation. These processes address the wider questions mentioned in the previous section and begin to reveal the specific features of the super-exploitation of migrant workers which are often hidden from theoretical analyses, but which exist both inside and outside the workplace. This serves to highlight the deteriorating structural conditions of labour exploitation in the experiences of Haitian workers in Brazil.

These conditions of social reproduction can also expand the understanding of super exploitation in peripheral countries where the level of social protection has been

substantially lower than in developed countries and their welfare systems. Moreover, this approach sheds light on potential links between the rise of super-exploitation worldwide and the situation of migrant workers in developed countries. The increased commodification of social reproduction and neo-liberal attacks on social rights have drastically reduced social wages (i.e. social benefits, transportation services, health care, education and pensions), shaping the social composition the working class and the cost of their social reproduction. In addition, these neoliberal attacks have notably assumed very specific patterns in the social reproduction of migrant workers, creating a structurally constrained scenario (i.e. fewer citizenship rights, visa charges, transnational remittance payments, restricted employment opportunities). As will be elaborated in this thesis, there is a need to pay attention to how these struggles overlap and the way they resonate with the mutations of employment relations, producing bounded geographical expressions which this thesis defines as *buffer zones.* In Brazil, buffers therefore become a social cordon shaping distinctions between Haitians and the rest of the local working class; while offering specific attractive features for employers and their strategies for recruiting workers to super-exploitation.

This is the context in which the juxtaposition of the literature on migration and on super-exploitation is essential. It provides a point of entry into the very social relations which establish patterns of control in Brazil and the particular forms they assume in the exploitation of international migrant workers. On one hand, previous research on labour migration has offered important analytical categories and dimensions to conceptualise the development-migration nexus: the impact of restrictive access to citizenship and the welfare state on migrants' working conditions, for example. If this element is explored under the perspective of super-exploitation, there is potential for analysing these elements of access to social rights including welfare in terms of social wages (indirect wages) and social costs which are a constitutive part of super-exploitation. However, this analytical frameworks must be embedded in the structural and contextual reality of Brazil and Haiti rather than based upon the northern centric theoretical frameworks, showing how they re-shape the experiences of workers. To do this, the specialised literature and the experiences of Haitians in Brazil will guide this thesis into the re-signification of these key analytic categories – citizenship, work and transnational networks – and their intrinsic relationship with super-exploitation of Haitians. This framework is used to define the

extent to which historical practices have shaped, alongside structural and institutional apparatuses, the nature of labour exploitation in Brazil. Therefore, the literature is used to challenge conventional approaches and offer an alternative multidimensional theoretical framework to examine the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil. This multidimensional framework is outlined by the following research questions:

R1 - How does the Brazilian citizenship model shape the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil?

R2 - How does the super-exploitation of Haitian workers relate to the changing nature of employment and employer strategies in Brazil's new development model?

R3 - To what extent does the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants relate to their transnational relations and strategies for better living conditions? Relatedly, do the results here lead towards an elaboration of the concept of super-exploitation?

The thesis collected empirical data from 42 semi-structured interviews with Haitian workers in a methodology outlined in Chapter 3. Drawing on the experiences of Haitian workers, this thesis responds to these questions and addresses its central challenge that is an elaboration of the concept of super-exploitation for the 21st century. The answers to these questions are organised into three empirical chapters (Chapter 4-6).

### 1.8 Thesis Structure and Key Contributions

Chapter 2 locates this thesis with the current literature. Firstly, it explores the migration literature by examining the main theories on migration and how they link labour migration to economic development. These theories are organised into three main approaches: Neo-classical approaches, Historical-structural approaches and Transnational approaches. These approaches serve to highlight the existence of very solid but also very diverse perspectives, showing the complexity of migration studies.

These sophisticated perspectives, however, have a shared limitation: they are northern centric perspectives and as such have reflected historical features of development and employment relations in developed countries. In this sense, these contributions must be carefully adapted in relation to the specific structural condition of peripheral countries. For this purpose, this thesis adopts the concept of super-exploitation. However, it is argued that the re-conceptualisation of super-exploitation is needed. This chapter does this by exploring the concept of super-exploitation based on its historical roots and on the social reproduction of super-exploited workers. The outcome is a multidimensional framework that re-elaborates this concept through the specific structural conditions which shape the social reproduction of international migrant workers.

Chapter 3 describes the methods of investigation which this study uses to capture how Haitians have experienced super-exploitation. It begins with the reintroduction of theoretical problems and research questions. The second section offers a brief discussion about the research philosophy adopted in this thesis and how it contributes to the theoretical and conceptual understanding of migration and super-exploitation. The third section presents the methodology and the application of mixed methods by using semi-structured interviews and secondary quantitative data on labour market and immigration statistics. The aim of this choice is to analyse super-exploitation from the perspective of workers and their relationship with a wider structural context which shapes the decisions and actions of workers. Following this, the chapter will present the research design, ethical standards and main challenges of this study. The chapter then describes the main stages of data analyses, analytical tools applied and how in the process of investigation key themes and findings were identified. It explains how the thesis did not begin with the hypothesis of super-exploitation but how that emerges organically and empirically from the process of fieldwork and analyses. This final section summarises these methodological choices and their impact on the organisation of findings.

Chapter 4 addresses R1 and explores the relationship between the Brazilian citizenship model and the super-exploitation of Haitian workers. The specialised literature on labour migration and on citizenship conditions in Brazil informed this approach to citizenship as a complex category to link super-exploitation and wages. This focus conceptualised not only income wages, but also social wages. This joint

focus puts together previous contributions in the literature with the emphasis given to citizenship social and purchasing rights during Brazil's neo-development model. Findings show that there is a mutual reinforcement between income and social wages in shaping the struggle of Haitians for social reproduction, forcing workers to find alternatives ways to subsist. Haitians access to citizenship, meaning, foremost, the incorporation into the labour market, coexists with insufficient social rights and benefits, shaping their *peripheral inclusion*. It also shows super-exploitation and subordination as a rule in the Brazilian citizenship model. This sharpens the understanding of super-exploitation as a structural outcome of a specific social organisation rather than limiting it to workplace dynamics or to the exclusion of migrant workers from a Keynesian welfare system. This means that the state apparatuses contribute to reproducing class inequalities and the pauperisation of Haitians in Brazil while incorporating these workers into the labour market. This chapter concludes that this citizenship not only fails to protect Haitians from the most precarious working and living conditions, but in fact constitutes one important pillar of the socio-economic apparatus of super-exploitation. This conclusion emphasises the coercive nature of citizenship in Brazil, moving it away from an idea that can be understood within the paradigm of Keynesian welfare system and constrained the rule of the market, which is common to migration literature forged from developed countries, and towards a notion of peripheral inclusion and the structural embeddedness of super-exploitation in the periphery.

Chapter 5 explores R2 by focusing on the experiences of Haitians in the workplace in labour intensive sectors. While previous studies have highlighted that the flexibilization of employment relations has increased super-exploitation in the workplace, there is a lack of insight into the process and how this relates to the recruitment of Haitian workers in labour intensive sectors. This chapter aims to unpack these relationships and explore how workers enter into the super-exploitative relations in key sectors for Brazil's neo-development model. This perspective is supported by previous work on migration which showed how specific restrictions on migrant access to citizenship and their incorporation into the labour market have empowered employers in the workplace. Findings show that the social composition of Haitians in Brazil is a critical factor in their subordination in the workplace. The struggles for social reproduction that exist beyond the workplace, such as restrictive citizenship and a

dependence on remittance payments, create a distinct form of vulnerability which is constitutive of their super-exploitation. The concept of *buffer zones* was used to illustrate this tendency which links the patterns of social reproduction of Haitians in Brazil to their vulnerability in the workplace. It defines how these interconnections produce a social cordon between Haitians and the rest of the local working class; circumscribing the circulation and possibilities of these migrant workers in the labour market. This benefits employers and their needs for a workforce to match these specific demands for production in these labour intensive sectors: flexible work, high turnover rates, low wages, insecurity, outsourced jobs, manual labour, and the extensification and intensification of the working day. Haitians are often hired because they have nowhere else to go and thus offer 'extra-flexibility' to their employers. One outcome is the emergence of a specific porosity between formal and informal practices in the workplace which facilitates the super-exploitation of Haitians, defined here as *formalised informality*. The vulnerability of Haitians allows employers to use both illegal and legal strategies, regulated by new flexible employment arrangements, to super-exploit these workers. Examples of elements critical to super-exploitation vary from conventional forms of super-exploitation – labour intensification and extensification – to strategies for racial discrimination, wage manipulation and wage defaulting. This chapter concludes that flexible employment arrangements alongside the struggle of Haitians for their social reproduction have contributed to the subordination of these workers to super-exploitation. This is not only because flexibility offers Haitian workers fewer protective mechanisms, but also because it increases the entanglement between employment conditions and broader aspects of Haitian lives.

Chapter 6 examines R3 by theorizing super-exploitation through the transnational dynamics and relationships Haitians have with their community and network members. As transnationality has emerged as an important dimension in the literature, this chapter explores how the transnational social reproduction of Haitians has shaped their experiences and socio-economic reality. The focus on transnational practices of Haitians addresses the political economy of Haiti and the evolving organisation of super-exploitation within chains of reproduction on a global level. Transnationality is discussed in three different stages: the migratory journey, the need for remittances and, finally, the collective support and strategies for resistance. Findings show how transnational relations have contributed to the subordination of

Haitian workers to super-exploitation. Far from being a venue to achieve economic development, transnational relations have created new pathways towards super-exploitation. These results challenge dominant approaches in the development literature which have underestimated the impact of structural constraints on network relations and on remittance payments. Haitian migrants have not only been responsible for sending remittances to their community network members, but also for the financial and psychological costs of migration. This creates further pressure on their everyday lives which are profoundly difficult to sustain, due to the living and working conditions of these workers in Brazil. In light of this scenario, community networks also assume a critical role in enabling the social reproduction of these workers. Therefore, the conclusion is that network relations are intrinsically associated with the social reproduction and super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil.

Overall, this thesis shows how super-exploitation depends on patterns of subordination critical to the social reproduction of Haitians. It involves a myriad of processes that pass through political, social, and economic dimensions. In addition to the workplace, citizenship and community network relations are both central to shaping the social composition of and sustaining the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil. To elaborate the relevance of these findings by way of conclusion. Chapter 7 discusses the empirical and theoretical implications of this thesis. This discussion is organised around three key contributions:

1) **The sphere of social reproduction in super-exploitation:** The first contribution is an innovative multidimensional conceptual framework for exploring super-exploitation. This is made possible by the use of the social reproduction approach to super-exploitation, which connects production to reproduction processes. Moving beyond exclusive technical aspects of super-exploitation, this multidimensional framework allows for the understanding of how transnationality, employment and citizenship shape class relations and consequently the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in the periphery. It critically considers that the subordination of Haitians is a product of complex social relationships that start with their emigration and continue expanding throughout their migratory experiences. The intertwined nature of these relationships evokes the importance of an under-analysed chain of social reproduction to

operationalise global chains of super-exploitation. It also points to how the agency of Haitian workers and their struggle for social reproduction are eventually related to a pattern of control, defining the specificity of their subordination to super-exploitation.

2) **Formalised informality**: This thesis provides an innovative understanding of how the porosity between formality and informality mutates into more complex forms of super-exploitation, featuring the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil's neo-development model. The multiplication of flexible and outsourced types of employment allow for a continuum of legal and illegal practices in the workplace which empower employers while reducing alternatives for Haitian workers who despite a formal immigration status have no or very little access to the existing protective mechanisms and social rights in Brazil. The outcome is the emergence of undefined boundaries between formality and informality, which serves to make Haitian workers vulnerable to the increase of precarious jobs and unprotected employment arrangements in key sectors for Brazil's development model. The interconnections between these formalised informalities and the multidimensional struggle of Haitians is what gives a geographical expression to the previously defined *buffering zones*. This complex condition creates further opportunities for the emergence of old and new modalities of super-exploitation.

3) **A re-theorised notion of super-exploitation in the periphery**. The third contribution of this thesis is the elaboration of a notion of super-exploitation for the 21st century. It reveals how the theorisation of super-exploitation should not be restricted to insufficient direct wages (i.e. wages resulting from labour), but more broadly, as an outcome of the multidimensional struggle of workers to ensure their social reproduction. As regards Haitian workers in Brazil, super-exploitation happens because their social reproduction is distinctively overdetermined by a constellation of political-citizenship and community/networking relationships. This imposes a pattern of control which allows employers to drive the wages of Haitians below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. The joint understanding of these processes offers an innovative view of how super-exploitation is a combination of economic and extra-economic forces that encompass all productive-reproductive-exploitive

relationships. This conceptualisation contributes to explaining how super-exploitation becomes a defining and historical feature of peripheral capitalism while also expanding worldwide. Super-exploitation relates to the historical capacity of capitalists to enforce, especially coercively, these conditions of exploitation against a large surplus population in peripheral states and thus to ensure the persistent subordination of workers and broader aspects of their social lives to the acutest forms of labour exploitation. These strategies are now reinvigorated by new technologies of migratory control and the advance of neoliberalism in peripheral countries. Therefore, the use of international migrants in peripheral countries becomes a way to circumvent Keynesian rights-based labour regimes instituted regularly for indigenous workers. At the same time this new process re-creates types of labour control characteristic of super-exploitation in contemporary capitalism.

# 2. Literature review

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the current literature on the international labour migration-development nexus. It serves to identify the main existing theoretical frameworks and posits the contributions of this thesis to the literature. For a number of decades, the interactions between development and labour migration have been regularly present in migration theory. However, the progress of theoretical perspectives has not been linear, but rather, complex, resulting in the emergence of several theoretical variations based on differing paradigms. While providing for rich insights into the migrant experience, this trend also has negative theoretical implications: the recent research on migration has been almost exclusively descriptive and isolated from the broader dynamics of class struggle, employment relations and economic development, which has made for limited theoretical advancement on the analysis of current migration and exploitive employment regimes, especially those outside developed countries. A clear illustration of this is that although most of these contributions to the literature have been broad and diverse, they rely on the perspectives and historical development of developed countries in the second half of the 20$^{th}$ century. For instance, these northern centric perspectives have conceptualised developed countries as the destinations of migratory flows and have emphasised how discriminatory immigration policies and the distinct access international migrants – mainly from former colonies – have to the local welfare in these developed nations have pushed these workers to the bottom of the local labour market. However, an utter contrast in the reality of peripheral countries makes these arguments unconvincing in this context. This is because the explanation for exploitive and precarious conditions of employment are not necessarily based on restrictive immigration policies alone but the widespread absent of minimum rights, historical, structural poverty and persistent social conditions which compromises the social reproduction of the working class – meaning both local citizens or international migrants within the periphery. Therefore, the reality is that these post-colonial states

have never achieved similar levels of socio-economic development and for a range of endogenous and extragenous factors failed to provide their working classes with decent living and working conditions.

Theoretical frameworks adapted to these countries and their subordinate position in the global market are insufficient to explore contemporary international labour migration in the periphery. Previous research has examined migration as a domestic phenomenon in the periphery or associated it with the emigration of the working class towards more developed countries – meaning south-north migration. One limitation is that while these migratory patterns were predominant in the second half of the 20th century, significant geopolitical and economic changes have overseen more complex arrangements that have engendered the intensification of south-south migration and its links to contemporary cycles of uneven development across peripheral countries. The changing landscape of global capital towards peripheral countries in the form of outsourcing of production to the periphery has reshaped but at the same time entrenched particular capital-labour relations that carry the hallmark of colonial social, economic and political structures and ongoing structural dependency of former colonies on developed countries. As new sites of economic growth emerge in the periphery, new migratory patterns follow local strategies for economic growth. Economically stronger countries become the destinations for international migrants who, as we will see, are subjected emphatically to the structural dynamics of the periphery.

In the context of this limitation to current theory, the sending countries and their local structures should no longer be exclusively conceptualised as push factors, when in reality, they are defining elements in entire migratory experience. Emerging evidence exposes the inadequacy of theories of labour migration in dealing with the actual and complex nature of the migration-development nexus in the periphery: a multifaceted process which includes processes of production and social reproduction and how they interact to shape the subordination of these workers to the most exploitative forms of employment. This means that, so far, there is no single theory which has been particularly successful in articulating the current patterns of labour exploitation and the lived experiences of migrant workers in peripheral countries.

This chapter aims to address this limitation by advancing the concept of super-exploitation. This notion advanced by Ruy Mauro Marini (Marini, 1973) has been

influential in theorizing capital-labour relations in Latin America since the 1970s. It describes how the predominant form of labour exploitation in the region Latin America drives the wages of workers below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. This has been important for understanding the global shift in production towards peripheral countries and the expansion of structural poverty in these sites. However, it is argued that super-exploitation has mutated into a more complex form of subordination over time. The current widening of global chains of production and their links to the losses of social rights, flexible employment relations and international economic disparities have pushed the literature to have a deeper understanding of the ongoing form of super-exploitation and how these links to the use of international workers. This means that an approach to super-exploitation that theorises how the current struggles of migrant workers over production and social reproduction impact on the ongoing forms of super-exploitation in the periphery is necessary.

The chapter begins by examining the main theories on international migration. It organises these theories into three main approaches: the neoclassical economic approach, the historical-structural approach and the transnational approach. Following the broad outline of these contributions, this section explores the relationship between labour migration and notions of development in these perspectives. This involves a specific focus on peripheral countries and the role that they have played in the literature.

The second section explores the implications of south-south migration on the labour migration literature. It is argued that the way peripheral countries are articulated across multiple theories overlooks the historical conditions which have distinctly shaped local social structures and developmental strategies in these countries. Consequently, specific patterns of labour exploitation and social reproduction have been shaped in this context. The outcome is that this thesis argues for the use of the notion of super-exploitation to capture these local specificities and engage critically in the sphere of capitalist accumulation in peripheral countries.

The third section argues for a social reproduction approach to discuss the notion of super-exploitation. This conceptual focus allows this thesis to show that while it is an essential element in the analyses of super-exploitation, the social reproduction of super-exploited workers remain under-analysed in the literature. The rise of new struggles over *social reproduction* to entrench the subordination of workers in the

workplace, which is particularly illustrative in the case of migrant workers, emphasises the relevance of this thesis to the literature. In particular, this section emphasises that the conceptualisation of super-exploitation must be refined not only in relation to the restructuring of production but also in relation to the specificities which shape the governance of migration and social reproduction of migrants in contemporary capitalism.

The fourth section explores the concept of super-exploitation from a historical perspective. It aims to show how local elites in Latin America and, more specifically, in Brazil have operationalised super-exploitation as a critical element in their strategies for economic development. Drawing on the emergence of dependency theory in Latin America, these reflections highlight the importance of super-exploitation for subsidizing the cost of economic growth in developed countries and therefore for the reproduction of capitalism as a whole. The use of super-exploitation as a historical element also allows for a broader understanding of the set of social relations which enable capital to drive wages below the amount necessary for social reproduction of workers. In this context, the fourth section shows that patterns of production and social reproduction are equally vital for the conceptualisation of super-exploitation.

Therefore, this chapter concludes that a new theoretical framework must be developed to address these current limitations in the literature and to come to the terms with the specific role that the super-exploitation of migrant workers has played in development strategies for economic growth in Brazil in the 21st century.

## 2.2 Critique of Migration Theories

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the main theories on migration and to situate the contribution of this thesis in relation to the existing literature. It shows how south-south migration imposes new challenges on the theoretical understanding of labour migration. Combining different perspectives and elements, theories on migration have conceptualised the migration-development nexus, enabling the elaboration of diverse analytical categories and frameworks adequate for this purpose. Frequently, these theories have not only explored the role developed nations have

played as receiving countries, but also reflect historical, social, economic and political governance of migration in these areas. One limitation of this prevailing focus is that these elements have little in common with historical development outside these regions and, more specifically, in Latin America. Therefore, this section will argue that a theoretical shift towards the Global South is necessary, in order to understand how these southern patterns of migration, including their particularities and differences, link to the reproduction of capitalism as a whole.

### 2.2.1 The neo-classical approach to migration theory

The traditional *neoclassical economic approach* has been dominant in the literature and in the rhetoric of national governments in the management of migration, whereby notions of co-development or 'win-win relations' are often disseminated: both migrant workers and the states benefit from international migration. This perspective is rooted in traditional developmental studies and orthodox economic models. Conceptually, this neoclassical approach explains migration, both in macro and micro terms, based on labour market mechanisms such as wage differentials and employment opportunities (Borjas, 1989; Massey et al., 1993; Ravenstein, 1885; Todaro, 1980; Todaro and Maruszko, 1989).

The economic development differential between countries sustains the macro dimensions of international labour migration: the sending countries, or the less developed economies, have a higher number of workers and a lower number of employment opportunities in the labour market, while the receiving countries, the more developed economies, face the opposite scenario with the expansion of their economic development. These complementary features between nations push individuals towards mostly industrialised nations, which means that labour migration creates the balance between supply and demand for labour.

On the micro level, this approach advocates that migrants take rational decisions to migrate towards countries where they can increase their wages according to their own expectations. This rationale posits migrants as self-interested actors, who move away from countries which provide worse employment conditions. In other

words, the utility maximisation motivates individuals to emigrate. Emigration is thus a rational and voluntary choice, in which individuals make financial and psychological investments (Nzima, Duma and Moyo, 2017).

In this perspective, the outcome of international migration is that wage differentials between the sending and receiving countries dwindle. Both local development and the local supply of labour start to balance. In other words; it means that the gradual economic development of sending countries will increase their demand for labour, reducing emigration rates and wage differentials at a point which will eventually end the wage gap and stop the emigration of local workers (Massey et al., 1993; De Hass, 2010). Migrating individuals, in turn, will benefit from this transition process. They will have access to both higher wages and potential acquisition of skills abroad. Therefore, this functional perspective adopts a linear and optimistic notion of migration, from which both migrants and the state can benefit.

One important migration theory on this approach is the *human capital theory* (Schultz, 1961), which explains migration within a broader notion of personal investments and the correlation between valuable skills and individual's earnings. It focuses not only on costs of migration and individual choices, as in the most traditional neoclassical analyses, but also on the socio-demographic characteristics of individuals to explain migration and its outcomes. Individuals decide to go where their skills will generate higher wages for them based on short and long-term calculations. More specifically, individuals may accept worse employment conditions in jobs whose learning potential may eventually compensate for it. Therefore, individuals' decisions depend upon expected earnings growth and the success of individuals abroad are linked to an individuals' skills (Dustmann, Fadlon and Weiss, 2011).

The value of intellectual or physical skills immigrants depends on the level of educational backgrounds demanded in the destination country (Borjas, 1989). This relationship between demand and offer increases the competitiveness and the productivity of migrants in the receiving labour market. While these elements seem important to conceptualise the agency of workers, this approach under-explores broader structural aspects of international migration such as the transference of labour and skills – a 'brain drain' –, from peripheral nations to these more developed countries, which have not invested in the social reproduction of migrant workers (Delgado Wise, 2017; Smith, 2016; Pröbsting, 2015). Rather than a win-win

relationship, this can create further development inequalities between the sending and the receiving countries, while migrant workers are disposable when no longer needed.

Another important theory is *the new economics of migration* (Stark, 1991; Stark and Bloom, 1985). This economic model develops a critical approach to traditional neoclassical theory. Its main contribution is the incorporation of family members as an analytical category. This opens a theoretical dimension to explore how practices and cultural values of not only individuals but also their social groups play an important role in migration. The decision-making of migrants is primarily seen as a household strategy rather than an individual one. Individuals are motivated by the wellbeing of the whole family and they make collective decisions. Individuals, migrants and their families in their countries of origin, may also use their resources to invest in professional training and education for family members, which will increase their productivity and career prospects (Massey et al., 1993). Over years, however, these theories – such as the *human capital theory* – has been unconvincing to explain the experiences of the vast majority of migrant workers, who are recruited to jobs which undermine their decision making and their ability to acquire new skills or to use the skills they already have (Bauder, 2003; 2008).

As regards financial investments, this theory remains influential in the analyses of household investment. Migration is perceived as an investment to mitigate the risks of market failures in their countries of origin (i.e. economic instability, unemployment and limited access to credit and social services). These features were not necessarily neglected in human capital theory, but they become more significant with the inclusion of family members in the decision-making process (Greenwood, 2016; Nzima, Duma and Moyo, 2017). Migration is not only the short-term strategy of individuals, but it can also be part of the long-term strategies of utility maximisation for whole families. Thus, it is possible to argue that this approach drives the attention of the literature to the broader living conditions and the role income wages (direct wages) and social wages (indirect wages) play in the decision-making of migrants.

Most recently, the sending of international financial remittances to peripheral countries has expanded the importance of this rationale to the current literature. Migrants send remittances to their countries of origin to provide for their families and communities or their personal saving accounts so that they can invest in the local labour market or use these resources once they return to their countries of origin (see

Taylor, 1999). Although this focus remains mostly associated with neoclassical theories, it has also been incorporated into the transnational perspective and became central to the understanding of the migration-development nexus, as will the discussed in section 2.13.

Research has considered the effect of remittance payments on the economic development of the sending country by exploring remittances not exclusively as a means to individual consumption but to reduce local poverty and increase economic growth (Nzima, Duma and Moyo, 2017). Inevitably, this scenario relates to the failure of developmental strategies in the peripheral countries as a whole and the increasing amount of individual remittances worldwide are factors which contribute to a higher dependence on remittances (Stojanov and Strielkowski, 2013). For many, remittances from migrants may be a more stable and effective means of providing development (employment generation and network distribution) than international projects and models of development, which are often considered to be the reproduction of neo-colonial models (Thérien and Lloyd, 2000; Stojanov and Strielkowski, 2013).

As such, the literature has shown that dependence on remittances has comprised not only the strategies of individuals but also of the states themselves. By using the rhetoric of co-development and win-win relations, less developed countries have pushed their citizens to emigrate to foreign labour markets and invest in their countries of origin (Adams Jr. and Page, 2005; Hardy, 2015; Nzima, Duma and Moyo, 2017). Nevertheless, one major limitation of these approaches for this thesis is that they have often isolated the economic nature of remittances from broader social structures that shape these transnational practices in relation to peripheral countries and local strategies for development (which will be discussed in section 2.2.4).

To conclude, neoclassical economic approaches have laid the foundations of most of the traditional literature on the migration-development nexus. They have provided quantifiable data on several economic elements with a focus on the decisions and expectations of migrant workers. Migrants are motivated by their dreams of personal economic growth and the opportunity to push themselves towards locations with a higher level of economic development. Over time, these approaches have incorporated different variables which have contributed to the understanding of the strategies individuals may deploy during their migratory experience – meaning long-term expectations for economic development rather than simply immediate goals. This

has provided more refined predictions and profiling which are key to the current dynamics of migration: for example, the notion of remittances and how this has become a central strategy for international migrants and their families.

Despite these contributions, the neoclassical perspective is inadequate for exploring the aims of this study for several reasons. The nature of this approach remains subordinated to the voluntarism of individual actors and the logic of utility maximisation rather than providing a systemic approach to address the root causes of migratory processes. While wage differentials play an important role, these theories remain mostly functional as they do not explain the dynamic of migration integrally and how it fits into capitalism. They overlook the role of structural constraints in migration such as sociohistorical economic inequality, macro and micro labour market imperfections and unequal regulations (Castles, De Hass and Miller, 2014). These structural features may coerce individuals not only to emigrate but also to 'accept' certain conditions due to a lack of dignified alternatives, while other migrants are unable to migrate due to similar constraints and end up working in jobs and labour markets which they would rather avoid – such as the migrant workers who are studied in this thesis.

Finally, the equilibrium hypothesis on wages and mobility is also unsubstantiated in the literature. As appealing as it may sound, this hypothesis is unconvincing as broad empirical and theoretical evidence shows the opposite: the regulation of migration, the subordination of migrant workers to forms of production and the severe skills shortage in sending countries all illustrate the deepening inequalities on both micro and macro levels (Guarnizo, Chaudhary and Sørensen, 2017; Smith, 2016; FitzGerald and Arar, 2018). These contradictions extend to a point at which millions of migrants are risking their lives in their migratory journeys to leave their countries of origin and with no intention of returning to them. The higher emigration of individuals is an escaping route from structural contradictions rather than a pathway to economic development (Castles, 2010). Therefore, the neoclassical economic approach may contribute to closed economic models, but it fails to unveil the existing frictions associated with broader social relations that most migrant workers are embedded in, which are precisely the kind of tensions and social costs this study will explore in the following chapters. The next section will discuss the historical-structural approach which has historically been the main alternative perspective of the

literature and has focused on structural inequalities and regulatory mechanisms that shape labour migration.

### 2.2.2 Historical-structural approaches

The *historical-structural approach* emerged as the main opposition to the neoclassical perspective. The initial focus of this structural critique was to operationalise the analysis of migration as part of broader processes of accumulation and structural inequalities rather than creating a specific theory to it (Delgado Wise, 2017). In contrast to neoclassical models, which adopt an optimistic perspective on labour-capital relations and their equilibrium, the historical-structuralist approach has showed the subordination of labour to capital. It has focused on the role structural forces in the capitalist system, macro dynamics and local socio-structures, play in constraining workers and their decisions.

The primary analyses of labour migration on this approach emerged in the second half of twenty century, in the context of the deepening inequalities among countries and the structural changes in global markets, which were reflected in the growing number of migrant workers from former colonies in most developed countries in the Global North. The expanding uneven economic development among countries, rather than the reduction of it, created the conditions for the international mobility of workers in this context (Castles, 2010; Mezzadra and Nielsen, 2019). This leads to the incorporation of a supply of foreign labour into labour markets in developed economies, including skilled and unskilled young migrants.

Conceptualised as a reserve army (Marx and Engels, 1975), migrant workers became a part of a surplus population which was disposable but increasingly included into the labour market to regulate wages, productive fluctuation and labour shortages. They also offered their skills to the receiving society which potentially increase the productivity of the receiving country, while expanding the economic gap between this country and sending developing countries. Over time, theories emerged from these assertions to offer further theoretical insights into the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion which can explain the specificities of the exploitation of migrant labour.

Three key theories are introduced in this section: the dependency theory (Frank, 1969; Marini; 1973), the world system theory (Wallerstein, 1974) and the segmentation theory (Piore, 1971).

Developped in the 1960s, the dependency theory remains one of the most important attempts to conceptualise this systematic relationship between developed and developing countries (Amin, 1976; Dos Santos, 1972; 1978; Marini; 1973; 1978). In particular, it had a significant impact on political and economic debates in Latin America, as will be later discussed in this chapter. The rationale of this theory sustains the classic notion of 'the development of underdevelopment' (Frank, 1969): it proposes that the development of world nations is inter-dependent and unequal. The global market has organised a hierarchal system which sustains the subordination of less developed regions and the extraction of surplus from their economies. The named central countries, which are the most developed economies, become wealthier at the cost of peripheral countries, which are less developed countries. This relationship occurs due to the deterioration of exchange terms which causes the transference of value from peripheral towards central nations. As Dos Santos (1970, p.231) explains:

> [dependency is] a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected... an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others, and limits the development possibilities of the (subordinate) economies.

The dependency theorists provide valuable service to structural analyses of labour migration as they emphasize peripheral countries and how they are incorporated into the labour market. Elements such as colonialism and post-colonialism are considered instruments of domination which have sustained the systemic organisation of uneven power relations among countries. The central idea is that there is a need for an approach to better conceptualise how capitalism has reproduced itself in peripheral countries, simply defined as peripheral capitalism. This distinct condition of peripheral countries is important because the impact on the local conditions of economic development has, consequently, had implications for the local migration patterns.

Traditionally, structural analyses of migration had taken the patterns of international mobility for granted. They were perceived as outcomes of the differential of wages and of development gaps. This explanation, however, was insufficient to conceptualise why workers from one country are more prone to migrate towards a specific country rather than other destinations, even though they may have the opportunity of better working conditions somewhere else. Dependency theories were important to refine the understanding of the macro influences of historical hegemonic relations between countries on the patterns of migration in the global market. Although the rationale paid little or no attention to the agency of migrants in the context, this theory showed how imperialist regimes, with their economic and even military control of (former) colonies, influenced the specific trajectories of migrants in the global market.

Building largely on the dependency theory, the *world systems theory* (Wallerstein, 1974) is another important contribution to this approach. It refines the theory of dependency by providing a more complex organisation of the global arena. The world systems theory categorises countries into three groups: central nations, which are those with the most developed and wealthiest economies, semi-peripheral nations, which are in the middle of the global hierarchy and have a moderate level of development, and peripheral nations, which are the least developed nations in the world.

Neoliberal globalisation of production has escalated the systemic interactions between these countries, deepening and consolidating the patterns of international mobility of both capital and labour. It has allowed capital to enter peripheral or non-capitalist societies, shaping forms of production, causing disruption and further inequalities as part of the process of capital accumulation (Massey et al., 1993). The appropriation of land, raw materials, the mechanisation of production and cheap labour are common effects of this process on peripheral countries. While it ensures attractive conditions for transnational capital, it creates persistent conflicts in peripheral countries, because it dispossesses a significant portion of the local population of their productive and cultural traditions (Castles, De Hass and Miller, 2014; Harvey, 2014). Moreover, this system of production is often unable to provide jobs and decent wages for the local working class to ensure their social reproduction. While it generates a supply of labour to keep working conditions extremely bad, it also pushes workers to

leave. For example, migrant workers who are considered skilled workers do not have the same migratory restrictions in comparison to non-skilled workers. These workers tend to experience a different kind of transnational space and are subject to favourable immigration policies in developed countries. While this configuration benefits developed countries and the dominant classes by increasing the supply of skilled labour and lowering the cost of labour, peripheral countries face a shortage of skilled labourers. One outcome is that migration of these skilled workers becomes a substantial form of value transfer from peripheral to central nations (Pröbsting, 2015; Smith, 2016; Delgado-Wise, 2016; Munck, 2008). The so-called 'brain drain' means that the development gap between these nations tends to increase as skilled workers who are critical to increase local productivity migrate to developed countries. This is the case of Haiti – where the local economy is marked by a low percentage of skilled workers, while over 75% of the country's skilled workers are living abroad (Jadotte, 2012). Although migration has been a historically common practice amongst Haitian workers, the current transnational social reproduction constitutes a pattern of dependency which is unprecedented in the region (further discussion in the next session). Therefore, migration does thus not necessarily depend on wage differential, but it is a product of these socio-economic contradictions and a part of a self-perpetuating process.

Both theories mentioned above have been influential over time and stimulated the debate on the role migration plays in the capitalist system. In the last three decades, however, the formation of global markets makes their traditional conceptual division less effective to explain the interconnections between structural dependency and migration. One cause of this is the global shift of production towards peripheral countries which impacts upon working conditions worldwide and the emergence of global chains of production, shaping new relationships between peripheral and developed countries – as will be discussed in the next session. Another cause relates to the conventional focus of these perspectives. With a few exceptions (i.e. Marini,1973; Rodney, 2018), these perspectives provided little theoretical insights into context-related elements embedded in regional development strategies and how the subjective experiences of social actors, especially of the migrant workers, fit into these struggles. For example, to what extent do the internal social structures and processes of class formation shape migration patterns? How do the migrant workers deploy their

strategies? How do the ruling classes in these countries organise this structural condition to their own benefit? How does a peripheral state respond to this peripheral condition? For instance, the regional organisation of influential multilateral partnerships and regional blocs (i.e. BRICS and UNASUL) are recent evidence (Stuenkel, 2017) for a less static and passive formation of the global market in which the strategies of peripheral countries can also have a central impact on migration – as will be explored in thesis in relation to Haitian migration in Brazil. They not only highlight regional dynamics which are often under-analysed by local/global scales (Munck, 2008), but also Brazil's engagement in economic and political actions with no participation from 'developed countries'.

Theoretically, this means that how the branching of capital occurs into different dimensions and social actors is essential to conceptualise the reproduction of structural dependency (Mezzadra and Nielsen, 2019; Valencia, 2017). More importantly, this means that dependency is not a unilateral process: although the actions of state and individuals in the periphery are undermined by structural conditions, their strategies remain central to the constitution of this social phenomenon and to showing possible alternatives to this outcome. These elements matter because they shape new geopolitical relations and influence migration patterns and the reproduction of capitalism.

Before advancing this argument, it is important to have further understanding of migration theories in the literature as they will contribute to such discussion. Middle-level conceptualisations have been the focus of the literature in recent decades and provided important contributions to the understanding of labour markets in receiving countries. In order to do so, these analyses have mainly advanced the literature by exploring how the state has played a central role in the governance of migration and in making migrant workers suitable for the local geographies of production.

In this context, *the dual labour market theory* (Doeringer and Piore, 1975; Piore, 1971; 1979) which is also known as *segmentation theory* played a historically important role in the literature. The conceptualisation of the use of international migrant labour is articulated in the structure of labour market – between the forms of production and of regulation. The theory argues that local labour markets in the central economies are organised into two major segments: the first segment comprises jobs which require highly specialised functions. These jobs are complex; they require high investment,

further training, working experience and are needed regardless of production fluctuation. This morphology of employment makes workers neither easily disposable nor replaceable. Rather, workers are well paid, have good working conditions, employment stability and more protective rights. In contrast, the second segment features the most precarious jobs with poor working conditions, low pay, and high instability and insecurity (Doeringer and Piore, 1975). The second segment constitutes more easily replaceable jobs or those forms of employment that employers can cut when they need to lower production.

The main argument is that the predominant production features of the labour markets of central economies demand a supply of migrant labour to deal with production fluctuation and the high turnover of certain jobs in the second segment. According to Pioree (1979), migrant workers fill these job positions that are less desirable, while the vast majority of native workers are hierarchically concentrated in the upper segment (Massey et al., 1993; Piore, 1979). The implications of this organisation are that the recruitment of international migrant workers maintains the social hierarchy and expectations that links employment and remuneration. This is because workers at the bottom are less motivated in the long run due to their conditions of employment. In this sense, a temporary foreign workforce prevents motivational problems and labour shortages in times of production expansion, which would create systematic pressures on wages and supply for less desirable jobs. For instance, the incorporation of migrant workers into agricultural and construction sector are key examples of migrant niches where there is a lack of labour or indigenous workers were unwilling to work (Castles, 2010). Thus, the employment of immigrant workers is used to avoid disruption in the structure of the labour market and development models (Castles, De Hass and Miller, 2014). These workers do jobs less prestigious cheap labour at the bottom of the labour market.

The main contribution of the segmentation theory is that it opened the literature to the role the state plays in the exploitation of migrant labour in the local labour market. The theory has articulated the specific local demands for production with distinct recruitment and immigration policies, ensuring the prevalence of immigrants in the most precarious forms of employment (Piore, 1986). While these are important features of regulations in the receiving country, the theory overstates the existence of very defined segments and of the formal regulation of employment to the detriment of

other social regulatory mechanisms such as social networks, gender, racism and stereotypes towards migrants, as largely demonstrated in the literature (Anderson, 2010; Goldring, 2001; Tsing, 2009). This limitation becomes more evident with the increased competition and the proliferation of precarious employment in the global market which has been accompanied by the increased use of migrant labour in these develop economies since the late 1970s with the rise of neoliberalism and the de-regulation of labour markets in these economies (Amin, 1976; Kalleberg, 2009; Sassen, 1991; 2010; Standing, 2011).

Rather than a proper de-regulation of the labour market, the restructuring of production has in reality been the neoliberal regulation of production or a standardisation of production and labour exploitative practices in the global market. While a part of the production was outsourced to peripheral nations where capital found a large pool of workers and weaker barriers to recruit cheaper labour, the jobs that remain in developed nations were drastically affected by the flexibilisation of workers' rights and the rise of informal employment conditions. These are not only employment relationships defined by employment status – employment that is illegal or outside the existing regulatory framework –, but also employment-related characteristics – employment that does not ensure have regular paid working hours for workers – such as autonomous employment, self-employment and paid households paid employment. These informal arrangements also include 'forms of employment for which there is no clear employer-employee relationship' (Hussmanns 2004, p.7).

This means that precarious jobs which were previously relegated to the second segment now predominate employment relationships which are spread across most sectors of the labour market. This reorganisation has not only elevated precarious employment but also the links between formal and informal economy, as the lower protection allowed for employment relationships which have greatly benefited domestic and global chains of production drawing upon a different level of formality and subcontracting to reduce production cost. Moreover, neoliberal assaults on the local welfare systems and on the labour legislation have increased the subordination of the workforce to these most precarious jobs and flexible employment arrangements. The outcome is that struggles over social reproduction became a central element to understand labour struggles in the workplace.

In particular, these transformations have impacted upon the extent and ways which foreign labour has been recruited for local development strategies. The analyses of labour migration have produced new concepts and frameworks to understand this reality beyond a dual model (Sassen, 1991; 2010). One example is the greater participation of the state in the governance of migration through the utilitarian use of immigration policies and citizenship statuses. Often articulated with the criminalisation of unauthorized migration and the flexibilisation of citizenship rights**,** studies have shown how the state power has been used to create several citizenship models and political narratives to exclude undesirable migrants or to subordinate migrant workers through precarious inclusion into the local welfare state and the labour market (De Genova, 2002; 2013; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013).

While creating exclusionary immigration policies, developed countries have transformed the surplus population from peripheral countries into a hyperflexible workforce (Anderson, 2010) that experience a continuum of formal and informal employment arrangements the receiving labour market (Bloch, 2013; De Genova, 2013; Jackson and Bauder, 2013; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). These restrictions exclude migrants from the local welfare system and have often tied them to specific jobs, employers or sectors – which has undermined the agency of migrants and has shaped their willingness to sell their labour under extremely precarious working conditions to ensure their social reproduction. In this sense, citizenship became a form of personal distinction (McGovern, 2012; Bauder, 2008) constructed to limit migrant workers to the most precarious jobs, privileging the interests of local employers. In addition to legal frameworks, the growing modalities of citizenship statuses have created multiple segments within and through long-standing local inequalities such gender, class and race (Dannecker; 2005; Gottfried, 2000; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008; Tsing, 2009; Burawoy, 1976); which has served to put further pressure on migrants to stay at the bottom end of the labour market.

This advantage for local employers also reflects in a higher use of migrant labour in developed economies. Migrant become synonymous with cheap and flexible employment for the reproduction of capital in these countries. One outcome is that these receiving labour markets are currently transnational arenas in which different social actors deploy their strategies against foreign workers. This tendency is illustrated by the combination of discriminatory immigration policies with the racial

prejudice of employers which has created new divisions of labour (Wills et al., 2009 ; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2009) and this has encouraged employers to favour migrant workers rather local workers in the most precarious jobs since the flexibility and the socio-economic vulnerabilities of migrants increase their suitability for the jobs (Findlay et al., 2013; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008; Ruhs and Anderson, 2006). Moreover, migrants have been targeted by deceitful employers who have undertaken formal and informal abuses against them (Anderson, 2010; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; MacKenzie and Lucio, 2005; Wills et al., 2009), while these workers have less bargaining power to resist the employers.

Likewise, it is thus no surprise that the higher vulnerability of migrant workers relates to the empowerment of other social actors who benefit from this organisation of labour exploitation. Although their emergence reflects the complex organisation of labour markets and their historical patterns of labour exploitation (Biles, 2009; Maloney, 2004; Smith and Pun, 2018; Xiang, 2013) this has been an escalating tendency everywhere. Recruitment agencies and informal recruitment networks have commonly been a part of the trajectories of migrants and often a cause of their subordination. In particular, the outsourcing of recruitment to small-scale businesses and agencies has been shown to be a strategy in central economies to informalize employment relationships and to transfer the risks to third parties while increasing the vulnerability of migrant workers. While these informal actors have been prominent in gathering a foreigner workforce for the most precarious jobs, their role remains de-regulated (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008, Peck and Theodore, 2002).

Finally, another limitation of these structural theories is that they underplay the agency of migrants in relation to their structural struggles (Herod, 1997). However, over the last three decades, there have been important contributions showing that the experiences of migrants are not necessarily passively regulated by structural exploitation (Alberti, 2014; Tsianos, Hess and Karakayali, 2009; Mezzadra and Nielsen, 2013; Sandoz, 2018). Critical scholars have shown how migrants develop their own meanings and create their strategies based on the reality in which they are embedded. However, the interconnections between employment and the experiences of migrants outside of the workplace in receiving countries remains largely underdeveloped in the literature on labour migration. This vital focus on the agency of migrants and their broader struggles for over their social reproduction has also given

rise to a new approach, which is the transnational perspective. This chapter will now discuss the contribution of the transnational approach to the existing literature.

### 2.2.3 The transnational perspective

Over the last three decades, the literature has paid further attention to what is defined as transnational migration studies. This approach explores a full range of activities that connect the collective agency of migrants with their countries of origin and destination. Rather than focusing on macro or micro aspects of migration, such as the neoclassical and historical-structural theories, transnational approaches focus on mid-level relations and, more specifically, on network relations between migrants themselves and their own notions of economic development. This section discusses the transnational perspective and shows how it contributes to the understanding of the experiences of migrant workers in the ongoing processes of economic development in peripheral countries. It is argued that the transnational perspective unveils specific patterns of the social reproduction of migrants, showing complex aspects which lead to their subordination in the workplace.

The transnational perspective reflects both a central limitation in migration theories and the transnational practices of migrants. It addresses the collective practices of migrants, and potential everyday resistance and cultural meanings (Scott, 1996; 1998), which were somehow under-explored by more rigid analytical and regulatory categories (Castles, 2007; 2010; Fritzgerald, 2014) that underplayed the agency of migrants to the detriment of the geographies of production (Herod, 1997; Scott, 2013; Sparke, 2007). Moreover, transnational studies have encompassed much less structured critiques to migration theories such as in post colonial and cultural studies (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 2001), which are beyond the scope of this study but that reinforce the relevance of transnational relations for the understading of migration patterns whithin peripheral countries. The wide transformations engendered by capitalist development – and their political, economic, technological and social manifestations – have amplified these theoretical and

empirical limitations to the understanding of labour migration, which thus allowed the rise of transnational studies as an important field of migration theory.

Transnational studies have been much more than a new phenomenon in the migration-development nexus (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Dahinden, 2017). Rather, they represent a new perspective to migration. To a certain extent, the current transnational theories have evolved from network centred theories such as the migration network theory and the migration system theory as well as the social capital theory and the new economics of migration theory, which were previously explained in this chapter. This means that initially, transnational studies mostly concentrated in the internal dynamics of migrant networks rather than on the role transnational relations play in the broader aspects of capitalism (Erdmans, 2018). Such understanding is important as transnational studies have sustained migrant networks as a central category of analyses, reproducing long-standing vicissitudes and limitations in the existing literature on migration.

The classic definition of migrant networks is that they are social structures which enhance an individual's chances of emigration and facilitate their experience abroad by exchanging information, financial and cultural resources, resulting in support, consolidation and exchange between the network members (Massey et al., 1993; Portes, 1997). Most commonly, migrants' families, friends and acquaintances are members of their networks, bound by a set of interpersonal ties, values and rules, creating mutual dependency and obligations. The social expectations and the risky nature of collective investments in the network emphasise the importance of strong social ties to enable network prosperity and a successful migration. This conceptual analogy to a social investment has significantly contributed to the popular definition of migrant networks as a social capital (Faist, 2000; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

For instance, migrants leave their countries to provide for their families, since they lack dignified employment and satisfactory wages at home. However, they are unable to afford the cost of migration by themselves, which pushes them to seek the support of their network members. On the other hand, once migrant workers are working abroad they are expected not only to return this investment to but also to send remittance payments and provide support for other network members to migrate. Because of the different economic situation between the countries of work and of

social reproduction, migrants manage to financially support network members in their social reproduction and migratory projects.

Over time, the increasing number of network members abroad makes the profile of immigrants in the receiving country less selective and a more representative portrait of the sending community, as Massey *et al.* (1993) highlight. This is because migration is more likely to occur due to the resources generated by migrant networks. Economically, the gradual increase in the number of migrants abroad represents the financial strength of networks, since more individuals have access to better employment and can afford the costs associated with the emigration of other network members from their country of origin to the country of destination. Culturally, this scenario also motivates other network members to emigrate due to potential incentives and assistance they may receive from their network members, encompassing shared knowledge and local support, which settled migrants may provide in the country of destination. Therefore, the cumulative economic and social resources that networks provide may transform the experiences of migrants by increasing motivation and reducing the potential costs and risks associated with migration.

This is what makes migrant networks so important for the transnational understanding of the migration-development nexus and, more specifically, for this thesis. The flexibilization of employment relations and the uneven geographies of development worldwide have shaped new forms of social relations in which workers rely on to socially reproduce themselves. Although the transnationality may not be a part of the everyday lives of all migrants (Portes, 2003), it has been increasingly a rule rather than an exception for the majority of international workers. These transnational exchanges run in parallel with the technological innovation and easier access migrants have had to digital tools, which have allowed them unprecedented interaction between their communities across borders through the internet, social media, international flights, and international financial transactions. The outcome is an increased visibility of very specific transnational social relations through and beyond the scope of the state.

Networks offer a perspective on socio-economic development from migrants themselves rather than from state/elitist-led development projects (Portes; 2003; Selwyn, 2018). Network centred approaches shed light on how the collective agency of migrants across borders is crucial to the start as well as the perpetuation of these

migration patterns. The transnational relationships migrants establish with their communities of origin produce and reproduce migratory flows through political, economic and cultural relations. Conceptually, this means that the experiences of migrants are not merely a passive response to the geographies of production but also an expression of migrant's individual and their collective meanings, histories and feelings about their communities and everyday experiences. Moreover, networks offer potential alternatives for workers to organise themselves in a context in which their agency is increasingly constrained by state regulation of their space and social rights (Kelly, 2009; Pye, 2014; Herod, 1997; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013). For instance, networks can challenge the spectacle of borders (De Genova, 2002) and their apparatuses based on the collective support of network offers to reduce individual costs such as passport and travel costs, as well as helping migrants find alternative routes to entry into a new country.

Over time, transnational studies have also expanded the traditional focus of network-centric approaches (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). Although transnational studies maintain their focus on migrants (Portes, 1997), they have paid further attention to the role other social actors and social structures have played in shaping network dynamics (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Orum and Collins, 2019; Izcara Palacios, 2017). They have consequently been fundamental in providing more realistic notions of network relations and solidarity-related practices among network members in their everyday lives. This focus addresses previous limitations of network analyses, which were often inaccurate and constituted microcosms, attributing imprecise notions of autonomy, isolation and abstraction to the social reproduction of migrants (Smith, 2017). It shows how network relations are not restricted to solidarity-related values, but they are a part of broader social interactions and meanings migrants have developed in the globalised world. These contributions are critical to the nature of migrant networks as the role of the networks is defined by their members and how these members interact with each other, meaning that migrant networks are not exclusively relationships of solidarity but also of exploitation.

For instance, migrant networks are presented to describe the experiences of migrants in their migratory journeys. As new state policies and uneven geographies have imposed new challenges on migration, networks have assumed new forms and functions on the transnational level. This includes the participation of unscrupulous

traffickers and smugglers in network relationships as an increasing rule rather than the exception (Casillas, 2011; Castles, De Hass and Miller, 2014; Portes Virginio, Garvey and Stewart, 2017; Ahmad, 2016). These actors have been commonly involved in the extortion, violence and physical and sexual abuse of migrants during migratory journeys but also beyond them in other legal and illegal activities such as moneylending and employment recruitment. Examples are varying across different but inter-related activities such as slave labour, as well as sexual and non-sexual forms of human trafficking (Ahmad, 2016, Reitano, 2018). Initially, these network members may facilitate the emigration of migrants, but they gradually become the ones responsible for abuses and exploitation against these workers. Since migrants have been increasingly marginalised by discriminatory state policies, these workers are also more vulnerable to these actions (Portes Virginio, Garvey and Stewart, 2017). In this sense, migrants have also used their networks to assume these new financial, physical and psychological costs of migration, especially migrant women and children who are more susceptible than other migrants to these abuses and exploitation (UNHCR, 2018).

Another lesson from transnational studies is that network relations are context-related. This links the transnational activities to broader strategies of economic development such as labour and immigration policies (Goldring, 1999; 2001; Levitt, 2001; Vasta, 2004). This is because a lack of opportunities and social marginalisation may push migrants close to their networks (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993) or also push them away from their ethnic community in the receiving country (Guarnizo, Sanchez and Roach, 1999; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). This may also affect the perceptions and attitudes of migrants towards their networks, shaping their ambitions and social status in different contexts (Goldring, 1999; Portes, 1993, Baker-Cristales, 2004). A clear example is the formation of ethnic enclaves as a pattern of insertion in the labour market (Portes, 1997; Portes; 2016; Castles, 2010). Over time, cultural elements associated with the lack of opportunities migrants have in segmented labour markets have contributed to the use of migrant networks to access certain jobs and avoid others. For instance, this has been demonstrated in the experiences of Colombian, Mexican and Haitian migrants in the labour market in the United States. Migrants have acted as entrepreneurs and have created their own businesses or used ethnic businesses to find jobs in the labour market.

These solid contributions address a longstanding weakness in the network literature, which tended to overemphasize network dynamics while underplaying structural constraints. Although these mannerisms remain in the existing literature on transnational migration, several studies have attempted to produce a much more comprehensive analysis of transnational relations (see Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993 for a comprehensive review). In this sense, they have moved away from an utilitarian perspective of migrant networks to an approach in which networks are observed as socio-structures of interaction and potential struggle (Bridge, 1994). This converges with contributions in the literature which has shown the dynamic relationship migrant networks have with other social structures (i.e. social class, state, religion, among others) that shapes material and symbolic exchanges within them. The outcome is that the social networks themselves may be considered another dimension in which structural inequalities may be reproduced rather than challenged (Guarnizo and Díaz, 1999; Guarnizo, Chaudhary and Sørensen, 2017; Platt et al., 2017).

On the other hand, transnational dynamics are not only affected but affect these regulatory practices. As Portes (2003) highlights, it would be incorrect to conceptualise the transnational practices of migrants without highlighting their power to influence macro-social dynamics. Over the years, several patterns of regulation have emerged in response to the collective agency of migrants and their transnational practices. The most striking example lies in how peripheral states have used the transnational reproduction of migrants as an important strategy for national development (Faist, 2000). Framed as win-win relations this approach has been hegemonic in the existing literature and resonates with notions of economic neoliberal development disseminated by international developmental institutions (De Hass, 2005; Phillips, 2009). As previously mentioned, this links the transnational studies to the neoclassical perspective on migration and its paths to modernisation and economic growth. The financial remittances of migrants are used to invest in local projects or to boost local consumption, creating an extra income for these states and conditions for the social reproduction of the local population. However, the real aim is to mitigate the impact of neoliberal failure on these countries and their capacity to ensure the social reproduction of their own citizens by transforming the wages of migrant workers abroad into sources of revenue (Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2008; 2009).

States have done this by attempting to divert remittances towards the creation of business and investment in social projects in their countries of origin. One of the main methods used to do this is the notion of transnational citizenship (Guarnizo, Sánchez and Roach, 1999; Vertovec, 2001; 2009) which implies the 'co-existence' of migrant networks in transnational practices such as cultural, economic and political transnational practices (Goldring, 1999; FitzGerald, 2014). This strategy helps the peripheral state to create a model of transnational belonging, in which migrant workers have been framed as the 'heroes of economic development' (Pellerin and Mullings**,** 2013**;** Phillips, 2009) with responsibilities to compensate for the failed strategies of local development. Migrants become responsible for economic as well as social remittances, shaping an alternative notion of economic development for their communities of origin (Levitt and Nyberg-Sorensen, 2004). Another way the state has subordinated migrants and their remittance payments is by using financial institutions and policies which are able to constrain migrants, often through debts and loans, prior to their emigration (Platt et al., 2017).

This transnational stage of dependency has broad implications for capitalism as a whole. As this thesis will show, this means that peripheral states are transferring the social reproduction of local workers to migrant networks, since the state has created conditions of production and labour exploitation which are unable to ensure the social reproduction of the local population (Ferguson and McNally, 2015 make a similar point). Caribbean countries and Asian countries are among those states which have offered a myriad of examples of these strategies that vary from media advertisements to banking loans attached to future remittances these migrants are expected to send.

However, there is a limited understanding of how south-south migration will impact on reproduction of capital and labour under these circumstances. This is because the rationale behind several of these analyses is articulated with the conventional pattern of south-north migration. The expectation is that the jobs migrants find abroad in developed countries pay higher wages than in their countries of origin where in turn the living costs are also much lower than in developed countries. As appealing as it may sound, this notion of economic development and employment is inconsistent with the reality of migrants and has reproduced individualistic approaches to network theory and traditional notions of development (Delgado Wise and

Covarrubias, 2009; Hickey, 2016). Such a theoretical limitation is even more explicit in the conceptualisation of migrants in peripheral countries, whose lack of economic development are inherently related to their structural dependency on developed countries, economic instability, low-wage and precarious employment. Nevertheless, the double impact of structural dependency on south-south migration, both in the countries of origin and destination, remains under-developed in the existing literature.

Therefore, the transnational approach has been central to the understanding of migration. It is a fruitful conceptual effort to provide an integrative and relational framework which draws on the collective agency of migrants and how they relate to dynamics which occurred in between and beyond the sending and receiving countries. The transnational perspective brings together a broad range of historical economic and cultural practices which migrant communities deploy in different stages of their migratory experience. More specifically, the transnational perspective is fundamental to the conceptualisation of the migration-development nexus, shaping a new pattern of (re)production in capitalism. The transnational approach shows how structural inequalities have not been eradicated but have used by strategies of economic development. A range of local and transnational hierarchies have created new forms of dependencies, using networks to expand inequalities rather than solving them. This increases the importance of understanding network dynamics in relation to the new circuits of production (Guarnizo, 2004; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Tsing; 2009). This thesis addresses this element by showing how the networks of Haitian workers and their transnational spaces of social reproduction are incorporated into the local patterns of labour exploitation in Brazil. Rather than individualistic notions of development, the experiences of Haitians will illustrate how these development strategies create new forms of servitude which have overwhelmed migrant workers with unreachable responsibilities and unbearable financial and psychological debts.

### 2.3 The implications of south-south migration for migration theory

These three main perspectives – the neoclassical approach, the historical-structural approach and the transnational approach – have explored multiple aspects of the

migration-development nexus. The difficulty of building a single model is apparent as several theoretical challenges of migration theory are inserted into broader discussions and tendencies in social sciences, which reflect ideological influences in different disciplines and contexts over time (De Hass, 2010). Transnational networks, citizenship rights, remittances, precarious work are examples of analytical categories which are commonly used to conceptualise the dynamics aspects of contemporary migration. Together, they expand the understanding of the specific constraints inside and outside the workplace which have shaped the suitability of migrants for different development models.

Moreover, these different perspectives are important for showing that migration is a multifaceted social phenomenon which is constantly evolving in parallel with the broader transformations in contemporary capitalism. The globalised restructuring of production illustrates this argument as migration policies and state rhetoric and other regulatory tools (i.e. criminal networks and racism) are created to match these changing labour practices. The convergence between the higher rate of foreign labour and discriminatory policies in labour markets is not contradictory or reactive but complementary to the subordination workers – as it has allowed the continued ascendency of capital over labour.

While the struggle of migrants and the rest of the working class against these attack on labour and social rights are similar in essence, there are important distinctions that must be conceptualised. As a result, migration theories have evolved to deal with the de-regulation of the employment relationship and escalating structural inequalities. Several analyses have explored these transformations with a focus on the geographies of production in the labour markets of developed countries. The rise of the transnational perspective has pushed the literature to integrate migrants' agency into more complex structural relations, which are often obscured from the relations of production but essential to them. It is thus argued in this thesis that as migrants increasingly find themselves in these production-reproduction relations, these struggles, as well as their contradictions, for their social reproduction must be a conceptual part of labour migration-development nexus.

More importantly, the totality of these tendencies must be explored. Capitalism is by its very nature a global system. The global chains of production have gradually shaped new power relations as new geographies of production are shaped beyond

developed countries. The developing regions have always been important for capitalist production; the chains of production are new forms of this relation. This tendency opposes traditional neo-classical approaches that emphasise lower productivity as cause of high emigration in peripheral countries. Rather, the reality shows that the conditions of labour exploitation in these countries attract capital, without reducing emigration rates. As a global phenomenon focused on outsourcing production to find cheaper labour wherever it is (Harvey, 2014; Tsing, 2009), the shift of production towards southern countries has inevitably impacted on local employment relations and international migration in peripheral countries. As Smith (2016, p.132) summarizes by analysing the restructuring of production in the global economy:

> The wages paid to workers in the South are affected by factors that have no bearing on or relevance to the productivity of these workers when at work, factors arising from conditions in the labor market and more general social structures and relations affecting the reproduction of labor-power, including the suppression of the free international movement of labor and the emergence of a vast relative surplus population in the Global South.

By 'suppression of the free international movement of labour', Smith meant that the prevalence of discriminatory immigration policies and other state apparatuses that keeps the majority of workers from the Global South within peripheral countries. This action has not only facilitated the subordination of workers to extremely precarious labour conditions but also created new patterns of migration within southern countries. The now predominant south-south migration reached a point in which the inherent links among migration and the development of peripheral countries can no longer be under-analysed. These patterns of migration and production across peripheral countries show emerging regional inequalities among peripheral economies, which are further complicated by restrictive migration regimes in developed nations. This means that the relationship between both of these contexts, in developed and peripheral countries, is critical to the conceptualisation labour migration. Their link to this hegemonic south-north migration is that capital-labour relations in peripheral countries and the transference of value extracted from the working class in the periphery have largely benefitted the wealthy in developed countries as well as shaping the dominant patterns of labour migration. The nature of these relations is

precisely why there needs to be a rethink of the theoretical framework embedded in the endogenous and exogenous elements which constitute the reality of the periphery and the emergence of south-south migration.

This focus enables the conceptualisation of the relationship between chains of production and of social reproduction in these peripheral countries. However, as previously explored, theoretical perspectives from peripheral countries remain under-explored in the existing literature (Castles and Delgado Wise; 2008; Munck, 2008; Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2008; Fishwick and Selwyn, 2016). While northern centric perspectives have expanded the understanding of migration based on the transformation in the labour markets and local welfare systems of developed countries, peripheral countries – mainly former colonies – have remained predominantly understood as labour suppliers in the migratory process. A major limitation of this approach is that the literature on migration has not only under-analysed how the wealthiest of these developed countries historically drew upon the colonial exploitation of peripheral countries, but also how the conservation of this colonial legacy – i.e. cheap labour, social inequality, land concentration, elitist state apparatuses and social divisions in the working class – has expanded the labour exploitation of migrant workers in the periphery in contemporary capitalism. In this sense, the current literature on migration presents not only a geographic limitation but also a theoretical limitation. As Munck (2008, p.1228) correctly highlights:

> [It]is not really a question of reversing the receiving country perspective to become a country outlook. Rather, it is a question of developing a paradigm through which a specific process (or set of processes) can be properly contextualised and, for that matter, place in a historical perspective.

This thesis rationale is built on similar grounds, meaning that south-south migration lies in the understanding of the development paths and social formation in peripheral countries and their working classes. This distinction is not an attempt to define who and where the most exploited workers are. It is important to understand how specific structural conditions of the colonial legacy and the protracted structural dependency of peripheral countries have impacted upon the re-production of capital and, more importantly, what are the possible alternatives for labour. These peripheral regions have historically been shaped by distinct forms of labour exploitation and the

ongoing peripheral conditions in the labour market. This means that the military, economic and ideological strategies of economic development that have pushed people to emigration, as the literature on migration previously highlighted, have also impacted on the formation of distinct social structures and local forms of labour exploitation. For the conceptual purpose, the previously analytical categories – remittance payments, transnational networks, citizenship rights and precarious work – while so important to the understanding of migration, can also illustrate the need to recast the existing migration theory to the 'peripheral relations':

The first area is the transnational space and network exchange. To what extent will the continuing dependent condition of peripheral countries affect transnational networks and the remittances of migrant workers? For instance, will workers still be able to benefit from a substantial development gap between the sending and the receiving countries so that they can send remittances to network members? Or rather, will they be exposed more intensively to the structural organisation which has shaped the peripheral condition of peripheral countries in the global market?

The second area relates to the state regulation of citizenship rights. To what extent is the state regulation in the periphery similar to the citizenship regulation in developed countries? How does citizenship affect the subordination of migrant workers? If workers in peripheral countries have historically migrated towards developed countries, is citizenship status enough to provide migrant workers with dignified social rights and labour conditions? Will that impact on the access migrants have to citizenship status, a more flexible or restrictive? Or do the peripheral countries offer other/further elements to the understanding of labour exploitation in the periphery?

The third element relates to production and employment relations. How are the experiences of migrants in the workplace affected by the broad strategies of economic development in the periphery? So far, the literature on migration has indicated that the conditions of economic development in peripheral countries have contributed to the flow of migrants towards developed countries. This is because the strategies of state-led development (Selwyn, 2018) which allow their inclusion in the labour market, are not necessarily related to better working conditions for local workers. Often, the reality is exactly the opposite as cheaper labour is one of the main strategies used by the peripheral state to attract transnational capital. The extent to which these geographies

of production will shape the overall employment of migrant workers and their working conditions is underdeveloped in the literature.

These areas are separated processes but provide links between economic production and social reproduction. Therefore, new conceptual tools are necessary for the analyses of the migration-development nexus in peripheral countries. This thesis argues that the notion of super-exploitation (Marini, 1973) is particularly important to recast the existing literature on migration to a global shift of migration and production towards peripheral regions. In what follows, this chapter introduces the concept of super-exploitation and its contributions to the understanding of new patterns of labour migration in Latin America.

### 2.4 Unpacking the concept of super-exploitation

Over the last two decades, the concept of super-exploitation has re-emerged in the debate on labour exploitation in peripheral countries. Scholars have used super-exploitation to explain the global shift of production to peripheral countries and the deterioration of employment worldwide. Studies have shown how the majority of this economic growth has occurred at the cost of the labour power of workers. Instead of better working conditions and higher income, workers have been pushed towards global chains of labour exploitation which hinder their social reproduction. This section discusses the concept of super-exploitation. It argues that the literature has been focused on describing the restructuring of production rather than explaining how workers are pushed into super-exploitative employment relations. This thesis, in turn, defends the fact that the conceptualisation of super-exploitation should include both the chains of production and chains of social reproduction to provide a better understanding of how super-exploitation occurs. This approach reveals that the existence of super-exploitation depends on a wider range of social relations, shaping the everyday lives of workers, which have deeper structural connections with the nature of peripheral capitalism.

The use of super-exploitation as a concept has been broadly and commonly been applied to indicate ‘more exploitation’. This means that super-exploited workers

as subjected to worse labour conditions in comparison of other workers. One problem with this rationale behind the use of super-exploitation is that it implies many things: it refers to extreme precarious working conditions (McGrath, 2011), economic rates or other form of oppression such as gender, ethnicity and race (Tsing, 2009). However, such as these forms of oppression exist, super-exploitation is not merely a subjective condition – which depends on a feeling or perception –, but an integrative part of the structure of labour exploitation and capitalist society. For instance, the rationale of an extra rate of labour exploitation is abstract because there is not a normal or acceptable rate of labour exploitation. These considerations would depend on moral values, cultural standards of labour exploitation as well as value generated from the exploitation itself, leaving open the possibility of interpretations about productivity rather than of working conditions themselves. In this sense, the issue is that these definitions remain loose and insufficient to provide a practical portrait of what super-exploitation means for workers.

In recent decades, solid contributions have rather used more precise definitions which have attached super-exploitation to the labour power of workers. Several of these studies have been inspired by the work of Marini (1973; 1978; 1991) who defined super-exploitation as a form of labour exploitation that removes from workers the 'normal conditions' necessary for their social reproduction. The 'normal conditions' which Marini explores lie in the Marxist notion of social reproduction. In Marx's original work (2011), the concept of social reproduction designates the necessary broader social relations and everyday practices in which workers reinvigorate their labour power – this, in turn, is used to design an objectified amount of labour that can be exchanged for money. This includes daily biological needs (i.e. eating, sleeping) as well as more complex ones which are mostly associated with an individual's subjectivities and social-historical-contexts. This means that the nature of the social reproduction of workers changes to accommodate their basic needs. The reproduction of these conditions enables workers to sell their labour and to consume goods, which contributes to the reproduction of capitalism itself. As Marx (2011, p.190) explains:

> If the owner of labour-power works to-day, to-morrow he must again be able to repeat the same process in the same conditions as regards health and strength. His means of subsistence must therefore be sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a labouring individual. His natural wants, such as food, clothing,

> fuel, and housing, vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilisation of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free labourers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labour-power a historical and moral element.

Marini argued that in the predominant form of labour exploitation in Latin America, the wages of super-exploited workers are driven below the value of their labour power, hindering their social reproduction. For Marini, the focus of Marx's discussion in Capital (Marx, 2011) is on two main forms of surplus value: (1) relative surplus and (2) absolute surplus. Firstly, the relative surplus value refers to the increased surplus rate due to technological innovations. For example, the mechanisation of production which can allow workers to produce the value of their wages more rapidly. Thus, the surplus value available to employers increases with employees working the same amount of time. Secondly, the absolute surplus value occurs through higher exploitation of workers. For instance, the employers increase the intensification of labour exploitation, which can result in higher production in less time. This process of value extraction is described below:

> If, however, only half a working day is necessary in order to keep one worker alive one whole day, then the surplus value of the product is self-evident, because the capitalist has paid the price of only half a working day but has obtained a whole day objectified in the product; thus has exchanged *nothing* for the second half of the work day. The only thing which can make him into a capitalist is not exchange, but rather a process through which he obtains *objectified labour time*, i.e. *value*, without exchange.
>
> (Marx, 1973, p. 324)

Although both forms coexisted, industrialisation consolidated the extraction of relative surplus in Britain and the extraction of absolute surplus value in Latin America. For Marini, this process was decisive in the transfer of value from Latin America to Britain. The explanation for this relates to Brazil's peripheral condition and its lower

rate of competitiveness in the global market, which, for Smith (2012); is currently no longer the reason for these inequalities. He shows that the problem has become more complex and has been caused by the artificial regulation developed countries impose on the circulation of capital (i.e. biased measurement; royalties, subsidies, taxation and restrictive labour mobility). As Smith (2012, p.106) explains:

> High rates of flexibility and intensity of labor in the global South cast serious doubt on the notion that low southern wages reflect low southern productivity. When we consider wage differentials along with factors such as the conditions, duration, and intensity of labor, as well as the paucity of the "social wage," it is irrefutable that higher rates of exploitation pertain in countries such as China, Bangladesh, and Mexico than in the United States, Spain, or Germany. To put this another way, Chinese, Bangladeshi, and Mexican workers receive in their wages a smaller portion of the wealth they have generated than do workers in the imperialist countries.

In this sense; super-exploitation is part of a broader organisation of capitalism in these peripheral countries and their specific social formations, shaping the conditions of labour exploitation which permeate all aspects of social life. As Valencia (2015, p.68) explains and will be elaborated in the next section:

> Super-exploitation determines to some degree the particular manner in which the general laws of capitalism (…) came to operate, in keeping with the historical and structural specificities of the socio-economic and political formation in question.

This predominant form of labour exploitation in Latin America denies workers the minimum living conditions to reinvigorate their labour power with their regular wages. Super-exploitation is thus implied in the gradual deterioration of their labour power because workers have their lives rapidly consumed in the process of production without receiving compensation for it. Although these exploitative conditions may no longer be restricted to Latin America, they do offer a defining feature of the predominant form of labour exploitation in the region.

Marini exemplified super-exploitation in the 1970s by highlighting three distinct modalities in which it occurred, up to that time: the extension and intensification of the working day, and the expropriation of worker's consumption fund (i.e. direct wages to ensure their basic needs), as an extra source of capital accumulation. Employers

choose to over-exploit workers to compensate for their losses in global trade, extracting an extra part of workers' wages become an additional source of capital accumulation. These modalities of super-exploitation increase the value extracted from workers, while these labourers are not compensated for their harder work. For instance, even if the wages were higher, workers would not have enough time to recover from the intensity of the work and extension of their shifts. This means that their social reproduction is compromised because the means necessary for their reproduction are captured by the process of capital accumulation. Therefore, the distinction between the super-exploitation of workers (SE) and the 'normal' labour exploitation (NE) is that the normal conditions necessary for social reproduction are denied, since workers cannot fully reinvigorate their labour power. As it can be represented here:

NE= R+A+ surplus value exploitation – social reproduction

SE= R+A+ surplus value exploitation + social reproduction

The notion became a conventional definition of super-exploitation in the literature which has focused on demonstrating how super-exploitation has been used to reproduce capitalism. In this context, the shift of production from developed countries to peripheral nations relates to the opportunities super-exploitation offers to capital reproduce itself. While the most specialised production remains concentrated in developed countries (Harvey, 2014), the rest is outsourced so that capital can super-exploit workers in the periphery. Benefiting from both a cheap and plentiful supply of labour in peripheral regions, global capitalism is increasingly dependent on driving wages below the value of labour power to reproduce itself (Smith, 2016). For instance, these studies have shown that super-exploitation of labour is responsible for the economic development in the last two decades in peripheral countries such as Brazil and India (Osorio, 2013; Smith; 2016). Despite solid economic growth, super-exploitation helps to explain why the majority of local workers in these countries remain poor and experience extremely precarious or even slave-like working conditions. Some have even worked themselves, literally, to death – as evidence by the 14 deaths from exhaustion, heart and pulmonary attack in São Paulo cane fields 2006 (Garvey

and Barreto, 2016). However, the situation of local workers is often obscured by regulatory and rhetorical mechanisms which indicate general economic development – i.e. escaping the poverty line and the rise of a middle class (Selwyn, 2018 for a critique on this) – but fail to effectively offer social transformation and substantial improvement in the lives of the local working classes. These workers still have limited access to social rights and increasingly face extremely precarious working conditions with wages below the necessary levels for their subsistence, also showing how their relative gains can be very short lived. This scenario of super-exploitation has thus moved workers away from, rather than towards, what should be interpreted as, decent working and living conditions.

Theoretically, this conceptualisation of super-exploitation matters because it challenges a central aspect of Marx's theory of value.

> I assume (1) that commodities are sold at their value; (2) that the price of labour-power rises occasionally above its value, but never sinks below it.
>
> (Marx, 2011, p.569)

Although Marx argues that the payment of wages below the value of labour power can occur in the process of accumulation in exceptional cases, this condition is under-developed in his work. He does this so that he can focus on the relations of capital and a general theory of value production in capitalism (Harvey, 2018; Osorio, 2013). As Higginbottom (2009, p.3) notes:

> Marx discusses three distinct ways that capital can increase surplus value, but he names only two of these as absolute surplus value and relative surplus value. The third mechanism, reducing wages below the value of labour-power, Marx consigns to the sphere of the competition and outside his analysis.

One problem with these contributions on super-exploitation is that they expose a limited part of how super-exploitation actually happens. This is because the literature focuses more on super-exploitation as a category rather than of super-exploited workers themselves and the very dynamics which allow the process of super-exploitation. With few exceptions, studies have explored on how the restructuring of production has shaped super-exploitation but under-developed how it has re-shaped

the reproduction of the workforce. To date, the conceptualisation of super-exploitation in the international literature is often sustained by comparative data on global trends such as the average cost of labour and social indexes (i.e. unemployment rates, structural poverty and emigration rates) in these peripheral countries. This structural reality makes super-exploitation in these countries very attractive to transnational capital, featuring higher rates of extra surplus value extracted from workers in the periphery, while aggravating structural poverty and compromising the social reproduction of workers. This means that the focus has been on confirming super-exploitation exists rather than developing a deeper understanding of what it constitutes and how workers arrive at that situation, which obscures complex processes that shape super-exploitation. If anything, super-exploitation is an integral part of capitalist society, not outside of it nor an add-on; thus, there are social relations that connects super-exploitation to employment outcomes and makes it *the predominant feature of capital* in peripheral countries. Therefore, the question of how capital is able to drive wages below the amount necessary for the social reproduction of workers remains largely unanswered.

Based on the totality of capital-labour relations, this thesis argues that the patterns of production have been restructured alongside distinct patterns of the social reproduction of workers, shaping new conditions for super-exploitation. In the last four decades, the literature on social reproduction – most prominently advanced by Materialist feminists – has expanded the understanding of the reproductive practices of workers, showing how certain groups of workers are subjected to distinct patterns of domination due to the unique means necessary for their social reproduction – for instance where large numbers of women are in charge of non-paid reproductive labour such as family care (Federici, 2012; Fraser, 2016; Goldring and Landolt, 2011; Katz, 2001; Vogel, 2008; Strauss, 2013). This distinction has ultimately shaped their everyday struggles and subjugation in the workplace. For instance, this is accompanied by the disinvestment of the neoliberal state in ensuring the social reproduction of workers – by cutting social spend and facilitating flexible and precarious working conditions.

In peripheral countries, one outcome of this social disinvestment is the increasing number of migrants fleeing amid multiple economic, humanitarian and environmental crises. The insights above help to shed light on how workers have

followed capital in an attempt to ensure their social reproduction. The unprecedented levels of remittance payments sent from developed countries indicate new patterns of social reproduction within vulnerable communities in peripheral countries and migrant worker communities in developed countries. As the communities in peripheral countries can no longer ensure their social reproduction locally due to the structural conditions in their country (i.e. structural unemployment, extremely low wages, etc.) they depend on community members abroad.

The element of social reproduction is, ironically, present in Marini's original conceptualisation of super-exploitation, although the literature has predominantly focused on the working conditions of super-exploited workers and how these conditions are linked with a structural dependence on developed nations. However, there is an inherent link between the social reproduction of workers and the fact that they are subjected to the most precarious form of employment, and the analysis of this connection that must be refined. Taking Britain's rapid industrialisation as an example, Marx and Engels themselves indicates that the challenges of the social reproduction of certain groups were different among groups in the working class. This is illustrated in their description of Irish workers, as noted by Bhattacharya (2015):

> [workers] (…) would employ means which would absolutely negate their own end, and which would inevitably degrade them to the level of the Irish, to that level of wage labourers where the merest animal minimum of needs and means of subsistence appears as the sole object and purpose of their exchange with capital.
>
> (Marx and Engels, 2010, p. 215)

While the literature has shown that the low wage labour of these Irish workers was so essential for the reproduction of capitalism in Britain, the theoretical analyses of the social reproduction of these workers has been typically consigned to the backstage of the literature. However, as Marx indicates, the level of subordination capital requires form these workers limited them to only their biological reproduction, while the social reproduction of Irish workers is captured for the realisation of capital. Harvey (2018, p.5) notices a similar tendency in Marx' reports on the living conditions of workers in Ireland and Belgium:

> The consensus of all these reports was that conditions of social reproduction for this segment of the working class were worse than anything ever heard of under feudalism. Appalling conditions of nutrition, housing, education, overcrowding, gender relations and perpetual displacement were exacerbated by punitive public welfare policies (most notably the Poor Laws in Britain).

Unsurprisingly, these emblematic examples allow a better understating of the subordination of the most precarious jobs when analysed in conjunction with patterns of social reproduction. This is how chains of social reproduction exist alongside production and have historically given substance to reproduction of capitalism. Marx's insights point to the existence of groups of workers within the working class outside of a hegemonic capitalist relationship – in which capitalism pay labourers the wages they need to reproduce their labour power. Although these workers sell their labour, their low wages and 'punitive social policies' cause the pauperisation of workers – which, particularly in peripheral countries such as Brazil, also assume a form of racial oppression, slavery and colonial dominance. This means that the restrictions of these workers are not only related to access to land and means of production, but also to the very means necessary for their social reproduction under normal conditions in urban areas in a capitalist society.

The importance of this tendency relates to the recurring crises of capitalist production which point to further implications for the social reproduction of workers. This also shows that capital has never been willing to ensure decent living conditions for the social reproduction of the working class as a whole. Instead, it has drawn upon the creation of divisions within the working class or between the working class in certain geographical areas (i.e. through colonialism and slavery) to the point of reducing certain workers to extremely precarious living conditions, meaning 'abnormal' patterns of social reproduction. The implementation of these differentiations allows not only the mitigation of inherent crises in capitalism, but also the justification of further advances in capital accumulation.

The increased operationalisation of these 'abnormal patterns of social reproduction' to reproduce contemporary capitalism display the importance of this theoretical analysis. For instance, this configuration provides some parallels with the situation of workers in peripheral countries and international migrant workers worldwide. As previously discussed, drawing on developed countries and their

Keynesian welfare system, much of the literature on migration tends to focus on economic and social rights to frame migrant workers outside a hegemonic system of social reproduction. In the 21st century, these workers are excluded from a welfare system and citizenship restrictions which constrain their social reproduction, shaping their subordination to the most precarious forms of employment. Meanwhile, these struggles for social reproduction have also manifested themselves on a large scale in peripheral countries. In the current neoliberal globalised era in developed countries, attacks on the social reproduction of workers (i.e. removal of social rights and benefits), who have never realised Keynesian style protections, are converging with the expansion of super-exploitation in the workplace. Therefore, the significance of this theoretical bridge constitutes a central element for understanding super-exploitation and how capital confronts structural crises.

However, the focus on the totality of capital-labour relations and the stage of capitalist development which was occurring at the time of their writing allowed neither Marini nor Marx to improve conceptually on the implications of these distinct patterns of social reproduction and their effect on the value of labour and on the understanding of super-exploitation. As the subsistence of vulnerable workers is increasingly threatened by patterns of value extraction everywhere, further theorisation of super-exploitation is necessary. Therefore, the question of social reproduction must better theorised if the concept of super-exploitation is to speak to the reality of capitalism in the 21st century.

One of the exceptional works that endeavour to link distinct patterns of social reproduction to super-exploitation is Dixon (1977). Although she draws on her own notion of super-exploitation, without differentiating production from reproduction processes, she theorises the hidden role super-exploited women play in the reproduction of capital. Dixon examines how traditional obligations in the nuclear family, which are disproportionally – if not exclusively in certain contexts – under the responsibility of women, have distinctively oppressed and super-exploited these workers. While their labour is frequently unpaid and undervalued in this context, it contributes to the social reproduction of all workers and thus the reproduction of capital. However, this configuration adversely impacted on how women are integrated into the labour market, due to the discrimination they suffer in the workplace and unequal responsibilities they have outside of it. Therefore, she argues that the super-

exploitation of women exists because they are not fully compensated for their labour which negatively impacts on their subjugation and social reproduction.

Peña López (2012) provides another important, and more direct, contribution to this discussion. She draws on Marini's notion of super-exploitation when analysing the situation of irregular Mexican workers in the United States. She proposed a set of social processes that distinctively shape the value of migrant labour. Although Peña López highlights that other local workers are also super-exploited, she argues that the situation of Mexican workers is exacerbated by the worse working conditions they commonly face in the workplace, the lower social rights as well as by costs they have with migration. These elements are deviations in the patterns of social reproduction which are not covered by the wages these workers receive and consequently causes their pauperisation. The outcome is an expanding gap between the wages of these workers and the cost of their social reproduction, generating super-exploitation. By extension then, a partial solution to the problem of super exploitation could be the regularisation of these workers within, say the US. This is what starts to differentiate a more systemic understanding of super exploitation in the periphery from the analyses of migrants in developed countries. In the periphery, it is argued here, such regularisation does not end super-exploitation as it has never achieved similar levels of economic development, social protection and is still largely reliant on the social inequalities inherited from colonialism. As will be argued, it is in fact the dismantlement of social and labour protection in the last four decades which has increased the occurrence of super-exploitation in developed countries.

While progressing our understanding these analyses also serve to highlight the point at which the concept of super-exploitation is under-interpreted in the literature. Most of the literature is based on the relationships peripheral countries have with developed countries, while both of previous analyses point to unrealised potential of social reproduction to expand the conceptual understanding of super-exploitation. This is because they explore the '*supply chain within the production process*' which links the conditions of production to the social reproduction of workers, generating further social costs for which workers are not compensated. However, as previously highlighted, these patterns of subordination described in the literature are insufficient to explain how super-exploitation has been systematically reproduced in the periphery.

This begins to reveal the importance of this thesis to explore the nature of peripheral capitalism in the systematic reproduction of super-exploitation. This is because workers in peripheral countries, where super-exploitation is predominant, have never had access to similar labour wages and social rights in comparison to those found in developed countries. They are subject to endogenous and exogenous elements which enable the super-exploitation of these workers. This means that super-exploitation should not be considered in simply as an outcome of the peripheral conditions of certain countries in the global market, but also in their social dynamics which shape the everyday struggle of workers for their social reproduction. In this sense, framing analyses on super-exploitation as a matter of a nation-state geographical area is limited for many reasons. By doing this, this state-centric approach naturalises super-exploitation, undermining the identification of the domestic structure of domination in these countries, class relations and the agency of workers in this context. Therefore, one key problem of the literature is the translation of super-exploitation into the everyday life of super-exploited workers in the periphery.

These limitations matter because they can expand the current understanding of super-exploitation. Marini himself acknowledged (1978) that while focusing on the totality of capital and on the causes of structural dependency, he underdeveloped the role endogenous processes and social-political structures play in subordinating workers to super-exploitation (Dixon; 1977; Peña López, 2012). In this sense, it is necessary to develop a better understanding of the historical particularities of these countries and, foremost, of the daily lives of workers whose social relations are very much constitutive of super-exploitation. Moreover, they can also reveal different patterns of subordination to super-exploitation among workers, which is particularly important for the conceptualisation of the super-exploitation of migrant workers. Together, these experiences of super-exploitation offer further insights into this form of domination and alternatives for social transformation.

As this thesis argues, super-exploitation could not exist without a set of historically embedded and non-economic relationships that subordinate workers to super-exploitation. This also means that super-exploitation is not simply a set of economic costs pushed upon the worker- the mere difference between the wages of workers minus the sum of all the financial costs necessary to ensure their social reproduction. Super-exploitation refers to a pattern of control which is necessary for

driving the wages of workers below the value of their social reproduction. This pattern of subordination is what makes super-exploitation predominant in peripheral countries, because it reflects the nature of peripheral capitalism and the reality of large contingents of the workers who are forced sell their labour under extremely precarious working conditions to survive. Although super-exploitation has only recently emerged as a (seldomly well defined) feature of labour exploitation in developed countries, it has been historically reproduced in peripheral countries since colonial times. This legacy has shaped local social relations and structures which make super-exploitation the rule – largely as consequence of these same elements – rather than the exception in the periphery. This is crucial for differentiating super-exploitation in peripheral countries from developed countries. The following sections discuss the concept of super-exploitation from a historical perspective and shows how super-exploitation has been operationalised as the predominant form of labour exploitation in Latin America.

### 2.5 The concept of super-exploitation in Latin America

The concept of super-exploitation is central to one of the most prominent original conceptualisations of Latin American dependent economic development. This analytical category advanced by Ruy Mauro Marini became a reference in his seminal work ‘Dialectic of Dependency’ (1973), in which he analysed the connection between structural dependency and features of labour exploitation in Latin America. He argues that Latin American employers super-exploit local workers to compensate for their profit losses in global trade, due to their regional dependency on developed nations that sees maximum value enjoyed by the latter. This section explores the historical foundation of Marini’s notion of super-exploitation and how it relates to the strategies of economic development in Latin America. It is argued that super-exploitation must not be considered a natural category but a historical one. Therefore, the focus of this section aims to reveal patterns of control which are embedded in the foundation of super-exploitation and allow for wages to be driven below the amount necessary for the social reproduction of workers.

By the time Marini's notion of super-exploitation emerged, regional economic development and dependency were under strong debate in Latin America. The debate represented not only strategies for economic development, but also political positions in relation to Latin America's formation and class struggle (Osorio, 2013). Three main perspectives led these discussions at the time. The interests of dominant classes were articulated through modernisation theories (for discussion Bresser-Pereira, 2011; Furtado; 1952) and the dependency theory from the school of São Paulo (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969). These strategies of developments were liberal models propagated by developed countries in the region, and frequently advanced by military dictatorships.

In particular, it is worth highlighting the formulations of Cardoso, Serra and Faletto (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969; Serra, 1976), who represented the so-called São Paulo School and theorised to their notion of dependency. In Brazil, their work on dependency played a much more influential role than more radical perspectives on this theme such as those presented in Marini's work, which the author developed mostly while in Chile and Mexico. As previously described, dependency theorists perceive dependency as an inherent result of capitalist development, sustaining the economic development of wealthier countries at the cost of peripheral countries. This perspective offers a systematic notion of development, meaning that economic growth in peripheral countries is not linear and progressive, but subordinated to the demands from developed countries. However, the São Paulo School argued that structural dependency was relative so compatible with economic development to the extent that satisfies certain conditions which can increase regional competitiveness and reduce exchange losses in the trade/circulation of capital (Valencia, 2017).

Despite their differences, both, the modernisation theorists and the School of São Paulo, adopted the perspective that the 'developmental delay' in Latin America is linked to the lack of industrialisation. In this sense, in many ways, these theories indicated that the pathway to Latin America developmental growth would be similar to that of the developed world. This means that the region would have to move away from pre-capitalist structures – mainly associated with a dominant colonial agrarian export-oriented production – towards a fully industrialised productive system. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss this particular debate in any theoretical depth; rather, it is acknowledged that these solid contributions were influential to the

development of Marini's notion of super-exploitation (for further discussion see Marini, 1973; Osorio, 2013; Valencia, 2017).

Gradually, while modernists insisted on the formation of national and industrial bourgeoisie, the São Paulo School developed a different approach. Although it still relied on a reformist notion of economic development, this group advocated for an associated-dependency strategy (Cardoso and Faletto, 1969). The rationale was that a national bourgeoisie does not have the means to sustain its own economic growth, so it must associate itself with transnational capital, which is represented by multinational corporations. These corporations bring not only capital, but also the technological innovation necessary for economic development. However, as will be explored later in this section, the focus on the formation of a strong national bourgeoisie and on associated-dependency in the long-term has shown to be harmful to the local working class, founding a particularly elitist model of economic decision making, expanding class inequality and the super-exploitation of labour.

On the other hand, Marini, alongside other scholars, offered a more radical approach to dependency (Dos Santos, 1972; 1978; Marini; 1973; 1978; 1996). They argued that traditional paradigms which were adopted in the developed world were insufficient to explain the specificities of capitalism in Latin America. This perspective aimed to contest the hegemonic approach of the São Paulo School and what Marini defined as 'autonomous notions of development' disseminated by the guidelines of international institutions and intellectuals who were 'linked to the establishment' (Marini, 1973, p.170). Marini refuted the prescriptive character of dependency and modernisation theorists whose perspectives, he argued, focused on providing a reformist model of capitalist development to Brazil (Valencia, 2017). Instead, Marini argued that the historical development of capitalism is uneven and structurally dependent. As such, Latin American economic development was inherently determined by its subservient, structural role in capitalism.

As local employers are historically unable to compete with developed countries technologically, value is transferred from the periphery to developed countries. This configuration has subjected the region to specific capital-labour relations, which Marini conveyed as super-exploitation. Employers choose to over-exploit workers in Latin America to compensate for their losses in global trade, making an extra part of workers' wages become an additional source of capital accumulation. Consequently,

competitive advantage secured via the already low wages drives the value of super-exploited workers below the value of their labour power. This complex scenario leads Marini to conclude that the solution of dependent economies in Latin America can only occur through their rupture with structural dependency and capitalism itself. Otherwise, capitalism development will continuously exacerbate this tendency by increasing structural subordination and super-exploitation in Latin America.

Marini draws on the Latin American history to develop his original argument for this distinct form of labour exploitation and dependency in the region. He argues that the nature of capitalism in Latin America – peripheral capitalism – is subordinated to structural demands from developed countries and has shaped the regional dependence on primary commodities. Over time, this has not only tended to devalue the price of these items in comparison to more innovative and technological commodities from developed countries, but created a transfer of value from peripheral to developed countries. This is because the exchange-value of primary commodities in the global market is very volatile as the level of technology in production is low, meaning that these commodities suffer from overproduction and greater competition worldwide (Acosta, 2013; Marini, 1991; 1996). To explain this, there are three decisive historical stages which has shaped the regional dependence of peripheral nations on developed countries and the choice of super-exploitation: (1) the colonisation of Latin America, (2) the British Industrial Revolution and (3) the role of imperialism in the rise of transnational capital.

The first stage is Latin American colonialism. The introduction of Latin America to new trade relations was in subordination to European Expansion in the XIV and XV centuries. Latin American countries were integrated into global trade as suppliers of precious metals and raw materials for European metropoles (Galeano, 1999). For European nations, this economic model facilitated the consolidation of capitalism, providing material resources integral to its expansion. For Latin America, in addition to extractivism – which is an economic model dependent on the extraction and the exportation of natural resources (Acosta, 2013; Marini, 1973; 1978) –, the super-exploitation of labour was assured through the system of plantation cropping which comprised slavery and other forms of unfree labour for almost four hundred years (Prado Jr., 1970; Dowbor, 1982).

The second stage is the British Industrial Revolution, which was the focus of Marx's analysis. The industrialisation of Britain was enhanced not only by unequal exchange rates but was intimately linked to unequal conditions of exploitation and production of surplus value worldwide (Marini, 1978). Britain added value to its production with higher industrial development, while profited from the large supply of food and land from Latin America. Just as 'enclosures' were essential for the emigration of British workers to industrial areas and their subordination once there, so too were slavery and exports from Latin America (Dowbor, 1982). This configuration from abroad offered better living conditions, social rights and reduced local food prices for British workers, which ultimately reduced the costs required by workers to reproduce their labour power – dwindling social conflicts and production costs. In other words, capitalist development in Britain gradually increased the economic rights of workers, while reducing coercion and political subjugation, which were predominant during feudalism (i.e. servitude and patronage).

Moreover, this real devaluation of labour costs allowed the British economy to specialise and increase its productivity with advanced technology (adding relative surplus value to production). Gradually, this pattern of capitalism development also helped Britain to boost the British economy, as workers consumed more and Britain's colonies became more dependent on manufacturing. Slave in the colonies were especially dependent on British production as they lacked the means to and were forbidden from manufacturing these products for themselves (Mitchell, 2009). Therefore, the model of economic development adopted in Latin American subsided economic growth and the social reproduction of workers in Britain.

Moreover, there are other structural conditions which allow this specific system of production In Latin America. Under normal conditions, super-exploitation would prevent the realisation of capital, since the purchasing power of local workers is low and below their labour power. However, as Marini argues, the realisation of capital is possible due to the export nature of Latin America's economies, allowing the sale of local commodities to occur abroad. Meanwhile, because labour was not free under slavery or mixed with indentured labour (where workers had small lots on which to subsist), elites did not have to worry about the reproduction of workers. Therefore as long as the sale of commodities abroad satisfied their own consumption needs they had little else to worry about set of relations that have endured. In this sense, the

appropriation of workers' wages is allowed as local workers only play an important role in the production but not in the consumption process. As Marini (1973, p.140) explains:

> The industrialisation of Latin America does not create, therefore, as in the classic economies, its own demands, rather it is born to meet one pre-existent demand, and the structure itself in function of the market requirements of advanced countries.

More broadly, this configuration shows how the expansion of capitalism in Latin America differs from the way it occurred in developed countries. This means that, despite the similarities with pre-capitalist social structures in Europe – in which agricultural production were dominant and the rule of the lord prevailed over the rule of the market – the greater levels of dependence and super-exploitation in Latin America should not be interpreted in the same way. Rather than a vestige of the past, the formation of capitalism in Latin America was the most modern and explicit example of profit maximisation and the expansion of capitalism in the periphery. It destroyed older social structures and relations to satisfy an imperialist need for capitalist development at that time (Galeano, 1999): it colonised indigenous people, their land, their cultures, their families, societies and modes of production while replacing them with new territories, institutions and production methods (i.e. slavery, monoculture crops and mining) to satisfy external markets.

As colonies, Latin American countries were denied access to the technological developments and production to satisfy their needs, while the coercion of workers and the large-scale export of primary commodities became the main characteristics of economic production in Latin America, with processing and manufacturing reserved for the mills and factories of London, Brussels, Lisbon and Amsterdam. This is what is meant by the relationship between super-exploitation and the dependency of Latin America on developed/imperialist countries: their subordination to a global system of production in which the super-exploitation of local workers is complimentary for the economic development of imperialist countries. Therefore, the specific conditions capitalism uses to reproduce itself in Latin America moves the region away from a linear or chronological notion of economic development towards a peripheral and subordinated condition in the global market.

Moreover, super-exploitation is possible because of a large supply of labour in the region. Assuming that super-exploited workers are unable to reinvigorate their

labour power, they are gradually excluded from production due to illness and premature death. In Latin America, and more specifically in Brazil, this dramatic contradiction is overcome from capital's perspective due to a substantial supply of labour, which was historically obtained through sharecropping and slavery (Galeano, 1999; Marini, 1978; Prado Jr, 1970). These strategies for super-exploitation have not only allowed for the use of a *reserve army of workers*, but also for the formation of the coercive nature of capitalism in the region.

One example is Brazil's colonial history and the role slavery played in sustaining super-exploitation. Although this feature was originally under-explored by Marini and other dependency theorists, solid contributions have shown that racial slavery was a central part of the colonial system used to forcibly reproduce super-exploitation with African migrant labour in Brazil (Fernandes, 2008; Ianni, 1997; Latimer, 2016) and elsewhere (Rodney, 2018). The super-exploitation of these African workers was possible due to their subjugation and their rapid replacement with new slaves when their labour power was eventually amortised. In other words, the intense influx of African slaves allowed the local oligarchies to reproduce their system of plantation which supplied commodities and goods to imperialist countries without having to worry unduly about the longevity of the labour force. For example, outside of Africa, Brazil was the last country in the world to constitutionally abolish slavery. It sustained super-exploitation by enslaving African workers for almost four hundred years, which transformed Brazil into the country which imported the highest number of African workers. By comparison, the number of enslaved workers was eight times higher than the number of Portuguese colonizers in Brazil at the time (Alencastro, 1988). Therefore, this mechanism of labour segmentation and the forced subordination of African workers to labour exploitation was central to the reproduction of capital in the periphery at this stage of capitalism (Latimer, 2016).

Likewise, the intersection between race and migrant labour remains important for super-exploitation in the 20$^{th}$ and 21st century. In 1888, the formal abolition of slavery in Brazil occurred due to intervention of the Brazilian state which had suffered pressures from Britain to end slavery, meaning that the restructuring of production in the global market forced changes on local production. The British government pressurized other countries to remove slavery in order to expand capital accumulation and focus on developing labour markets worldwide, making overseas workers not only

commodities to use their labour but also to sell British products (Kowarick, 1985; Marini, 1973). The increasing difficulties and cost of purchasing slaves pushed slave owners to search for another workforce – European workers in this case –, as will be explored in the following paragraphs. The social relations subjacent to this process informed patterns of super-exploitation in the upcoming decades.

The system that emerged in Brazil has never allowed all local workers to reach their full potential as consumers. Rather, super-exploitation remains a defining feature of capital-labour relations in Brazil, while race has been a crucial part of class relations and super-exploitation (Grosfoguel, 2000; Latimer, 2016). The absence of structural reforms to address social inequality has made this a structural feature of capitalism in Brazil, reproducing the reality of a slave society in the transition into class society. While small numbers of slaves managed to escape slavery during colonial times and founded alternative communities that still exist today are known as *quilombolas*, the remainder directed themselves to the periphery of urban areas. This lack of reforms allowed the dominant class to retain its reliance on former colonial structures – which included racism and mono-cultural production – to subordinate workers to super-exploitation and ensure higher rates of profit in their exports to developed nations (Prado Jr, 1970). One example is the seminal work of Fernandes (2008) who shows that the marginal incorporation of former slaves and their descendants contributed to continuous reproduction, through economic and symbolical processes, of the colonial and semi-colonial forms of super-exploitation by the dominant class in Brazil. While the vast majority of the Brazilian population were living in rural areas, the former slaves were destined to leave in precarious urban areas (Fernandes, 2008; Theodoro, 2008; 2014). These workers remain at the bottom of the labour market, living in the areas that became the first slums in Brazil (Fernandes, 2008; Perlman, 1973). In these slums, a historical pattern of subordination started in the class society where these workers struggled to resist super-exploitation in the workplace but also to ensure their social reproduction. This entanglement between chains of production and the social reproduction of workers became an important aspect of labour struggle in Brazil and, as elaborated in this thesis, central to the super-exploitation of Haitians in the country.

Meanwhile, Brazil introduced measures to encourage the inflow of European migrants from developed countries. The state not only used a favourable rhetoric but also subsided the cost of immigration (Graham and Buarque de Holanda, 1971; Topik,

1987). This configuration not only suited Brazil by increasing the supply of labour in the country, but also benefitted developed countries which were struggling against a growing surplus population (Graham and Holanda Filho, 1971). In Brazil, several interpretations emerged to explain the use of European labour. The main explanation lies in the pre-existent acculturation of foreign workers to a life of wage labour and the favourable immigration policies organised by the Brazilian state motivated the Brazilian elite to integrate these new foreign white workers into urban areas and the labour markets in Brazil (Graham and Holanda Filho, 1971). These elements alongside discriminatory racism against black workers – allowed the local elite to reduce the costs of labour recruitment in the short term as well as to protect itself from the risk of lower productivity and resistance from workers in the medium term.

Moreover, this manifest the elitist nature of the Brazilian state which focused on notions of economic productivity rather on the local population. This means that although a Brazilian workforce constituted of former slaves was available to sell the labour, the local elite and the state decided to import workers and granted them with support never experienced by these Brazilian workers. As a result, these former slaves were increasingly incorporated into the informal labour market, while European workers became proletarian in the growing factories in southern Brazil – where most of the richest states were concentrated in the beginning of the XX century. In referring to an informal labour market, as previously highlighted, this thesis means the participation of these black workers in wage labour that does not ensure stable income or legal protection of their rights. For instance, over 90% of industrial workers in São Paulo were foreigners, especially Italians, in early the 20$^{th}$ century (Mamigonian, 2017). This historically distinct approach to the migration of international workers made African workers and their Brazilian descendants even more vulnerable in the following decades. Therefore, the higher subordination of black workers to super-exploitation cannot be divorced from state policies and their broader living conditions in Brazil.

The passage of time has consolidated this system of super-exploitation in Latin America as a whole. Since the second half of the 20th century, local dominant classes have adopted elitist models of development which have aligned with the plans of developed nations, expanding super-exploitation as a central strategy for economic development (Selwyn, 2018; Rodney, 2018). As local dominant classes have failed to interrupt the value transfer from the region to developed countries, the modernisation

of dependency and new forms of value transfer such as an increased deterioration of trade/exchange terms have been observed. This includes remittances of profits to developed countries; royalties and dividend shares; increased public debt service and the appropriation of land revenue (revenue differential) (Ferreira, Osorio and Luce, 2015).

This is the third and current stage of dependency, which represents the transition from a colonial mode of subordination to an imperialist mode of production and transnational capital – particularly represented by the United States and its allies. In many ways, they supported Latin American elites to ensure their economic interests and suppressed popular rising voices against super-exploitation and in favour of alternative modes of development in the periphery. For a better understanding of how super-exploitation has evolved in this context, the following section focuses specifically on the patterns super-exploitation has assumed in Brazil in the past six decades. The focus on this period of time allows a comparison between the struggles for development in Brazil and the economic develop models in developed countries which served as a reference for many analyses on labour migration drawing extensively upon discriminatory immigration policies and unequal access to the local welfare state as causes of precarious employment and social deprivation among migrant communities.

### 2.6 The modern super-exploitation in Brazil

This section explores the relationship between super-exploitation and the struggles over social reproduction in Brazil. It explores how the local elite has continuously used a coercive system to reproduce super-exploitation as a key strategy for different models for economic development. The implementation of super-exploitation has resulted in several social costs, not only as an outcome but as a structural need for super-exploitation to exist, shaping the subordination of workers to this condition of labour exploitation. Therefore, this section examines the degree of state repression and disinvestment in the social reproduction of workers which has enabled super-exploitation to be structurally reproduced in Brazil in the past six decades.

In Brazil, such as in other Latin American countries, this transition to modern super-exploitation occurred through coercion exerted by the rise of military governments in the region. In the second half of the 20th century, the military dictatorship (1964-1985) was essential to the ongoing expansion of super-exploitation in Brazil. It expresses an alliance between local elites and the United States to avoid the radicalisation of workers and the emergence of alternative modes of economic development. Although the military dictatorship offers the local elites all means to enforce, often violently and against popular will, their plan for strong national bourgeoisies and national economic development, this has only created further inequalities in the local class structure and dependence on imperialist countries. To understand this alliance, it is necessary to return to the previous decade.

In the 1950s, Brazil adopted so-called import-substitution policies to change the nature of production in the country, reducing its dependence on the exports of primary commodities and on the import of manufactured products from developed countries. Several measures were implemented to ensure the industrialisation of the country and diversify the local economy – increased domestic production, investment in infrastructure, a foreign exchange control system, increased taxes on imports and incentives to the local industry, among others – but little improvement was achieved in the long run. The positive effect of investments on the local economy were mostly absolved by southern regions which sustained their economic eminence from the colonial period and developed a local labour market, while workers in northern regions remained mostly dependent on informal and precarious jobs. The country experienced an economic boom in the following decades, but export growth was limited and caused a large increase in the international debt owed to developed countries, generating further dependence and increasing the transfer of national revenue to pay for these debts (Marini, 1991; 1996).

Meanwhile, the local working class was increasingly organised against the local hegemonic system of domination and super-exploitation. The Cuban revolution (1959) and other movements in the region inspired workers to struggle for greater citizenship rights, higher wages and alternatives to the current model for development, including solutions outside capitalism. In this context, the military dictatorship (1964-1985) used political, legal, cultural and economic mechanisms as well as violence to suppress workers' rights and voices, sustaining the system of capital accumulation and

increasing productivity through super-exploitation. Protests and manifestations such as 'the right to have rights' (Friendly, 2017) illustrates tensions that have emerged not only in the workplace but also in the broader aspects of citizenship.

As workers remain super-exploited and increasingly affected by pressures for higher production, their dissatisfaction and collective responses pose further challenges to the plans of local elites for sustaining super-exploitation in capitalist expansion in Brazil. While the production of workers increased, – especially in labour-intensive sectors (Garvey and Barreto, 2016; McGrath, 2011; Thomaz Jr., 2000) –, the relative value of the minimum wage of workers was severely devalued in the following three decades (Maciel, 2014). Opposing the rationale of hegemonic theories – such as modernisation theorists and the school of São Paulo – which argue that the initial industrialisation could eventually make super-exploitation unnecessary, it remains central for the national and transnational capital to maximise their profits. The fluctuation of the purchasing power of minimum wages over the following years helps to indicate the relationship between the military dictatorship and the income of super-exploited workers, as show in table:

| Year | Real Value of the Minimum Wage (R$) |
|---|---|
| 1959 | R$1732,28 |
| 1960 | R$1211,98 |
| 1962 | R$1147,48 |
| 1964 | R$728,23 |
| 1966 | R$854,35 |
| 1968 | R$742,13 |
| 1970 | R$729,20 |
| 1972 | R$694,95 |
| 1974 | R$627,23 |
| 1976 | R$593,83 |
| 1978 | R$633,32 |
| 1980 | R$686,08 |
| 1982 | R$758,77 |
| 1984 | R$603,04 |
| 1986 | R$527,60 |
| 1988 | R$415,54 |
| 1990 | R$414,15 |

Table 2.1: The real value of the minimum wage during the military dictatorship adapted from (DIEESE, 2011).

The restructuring of production offered technical innovation during this period but also further social contradictions. Technical innovation, subsided by the Brazilian state, was accompanied by the concentration of capital and land by large companies, while pressures on workers have only escalated during the military dictatorship (Ferreira and Delgado, 2003). For instance, agricultural sectors have been increasingly subordinated to the international patterns of production and large-scale production, increasing mechanisation, monoculture, the use of chemical pesticides, latifundium and a focus on exports rather than consumption by the local population (Garvey and Barreto, 2016). This mode of production gradually elevates pressures on productivity and jobs losses for most workers and small-scale producers, increasing their emigration from rural to urban areas. Meanwhile, these patterns of rural-urban migration started in the 1930 and only increased during the modernisation period. Running in parallel with the demographic growth of the Brazilian population, this tendency elevated the supply of workers in urban areas, suiting the plans of the local bourgeoisie to increase the proletarianisation of the Brazilian workers, as well as their own industrialisation and competitiveness in the global market through super-exploitation. The outcome is the migration shift from international to national patterns of migration in the following decades – foremost from rural to urban areas as well as from northern regions to the most developed southern regions.

This scenario of urbanisation complexified the class composition of super-exploitation. While black workers continued to be extremely vulnerable to super-exploitation, new migrant workers were absorbed into this reality – especially as subsequent membership of WTO and debt relief from IMF (following the vast borrowing of the military to subsidise their elites) came at expense of cutting support for poor farmers and any existing support for local industry in the form of subsidies – thus circumscribing the spheres of action of Brazil to overcome economic dependency in developed countries and local social inequalities such as happened in several peripheral countries worldwide. This is because the Brazilian population and super-exploitation only increased, which exposed a higher number and more diverse group of workers to the most precarious living and working conditions that super-exploitation entails. This means that race was still relevant to understand some patterns of subordination and super-exploitation in Brazil (as will be illustrated in this thesis), but it became increasingly insufficient to explain super-exploitation by itself. Super-

exploitation has since become inter-related with other material and symbolic relations, which have impacted on the social reproduction of workers.

The incorporation of these workers in urban life vividly illustrates the emerging contradictions between super-exploitation and social reproduction in Brazil. While the increasing supply of labour in urban areas served capital, the pauperisation and vulnerable living conditions of workers showed new faces of super-exploitation (Paiva, Rocha and Carraro, 2010). The incorporation of new migrant workers into the labour market was accompanied by rising economic development costs in Brazilian cities (i.e. speculative urbanisation and gentrification). The increasing gap between the wages of these workers and the cost of their social reproduction (further discussion in chapter 4) ultimately pushed the working class towards peripheral areas – expanding slums and ghettos. This is not to say that all super-exploited workers live in slums, but it does illustrate a powerful structural example of this social organisation – which is particularly valuable when understanding the experiences of Haitian workers. In particular, this is more visible for a population of African descendants that, as previously highlighted, were segregated and pushed towards the most precarious and informal jobs in Brazil. The outcome of this scenario was an emerging distance between the place of production and social reproduction that remains extremely common in Brazil (Fernandes, 2008).

This pattern of social reproduction has generated further tensions and forms of social conflicts in the periphery over time. While peripheral urbanisation has been a common phenomenon in several developed countries, the way it happened in Brazil is particularly meaningful to show the systemic organisation of super-exploitation. In these peripheral areas, workers had inadequate or no access to basic infrastructure and social rights – i.e. transportation, sanitation, housing, and health services, among other things. The outcome was the emergence of patterns of social reproduction among super-exploited workers which remain predominant in Brazil (Santos, 2000).

In this sense, these workers had only peripheral access to the already very few rights and social benefits existents in Brazil. This distinction shows that the situation of peripheral workers – or their *peripheral inclusion* – was thus worse than that of other Brazilian workers when considering their citizenship rights and duties. One reason for this is that although they were entitled to same social rights as any other Brazilian citizen, they did not have access to these rights in urban peripheries. Moreover,

another reason is that they paid proportionally higher taxes than other workers while experiencing worse citizenship conditions. The explanation for this distinction is that the Brazilian tax system works in a way that disproportionally burdens the poorest workers, as it focuses on consumption while failing in provide any effective form of social redistribution (for discussion Dowbor, 2018). Thus, these workers are not only super-exploited in the workplace, but pay proportionally higher taxes and have worse access to social rights and infrastructure. This means that the poorest workers among the super-exploited workers are made poorer as they have their rights violated on a daily basis, which make their income wages lower in comparison their needs. As will be elaborated in this thesis, this social composition of the working class and outcomes of *peripheral inclusion*, as defined in this thesis, remain similar today and assumes specific patterns of subordination in relation to Haitian workers during Brazil's neo-development model.

The response of the military government offers further evidence of the systemic nature of super-exploitation in Brazil. Mass incarceration, oppression and assassination of individuals in the periphery (Wacquant, 2011) – especially of black poor workers – have been increasingly the rule in Brazil since then, showing that labour is only useful when disciplined and fully subordinated to super-exploitation. While the expanding super-exploitation of workers was never questioned, the image of their living conditions and social problems they entailed (i.e. high crime rates, informal housing, substance abuse and prostitution) represented a stark contradiction with the ideal of modern life and the economic interests of local elites who were engaged in speculative urban renewal programmes. Rather than improving their lives and ensuring their social reproduction, the state attempted to forcibly push these workers further away from the cities towards new residential programmes in peripheral and deprived areas (Perlman, 2005; Kowarick, 1980; 2000; Wacquant, 2011), showing the elitist nature of the Brazilian state and the implications of it on the lives of super-exploited workers. As Perlman (2005, p.3) powerfully illustrated based on her research in Rio de Janeiro:

> (…) the use of the garbage trucks [by the military government] to be particularly symbolic. The prevailing wisdom was that since the *favela* shacks (*barracos*) were made of scraps and discarded material from construction sites and appeared to be precarious piles of garbage perched on the hillsides, the people who lived

> in them were dirty discards as well, and should be disposed of to “sanitize the city.” The massive removals coincided with the height of the dictatorship’s power and with the new construction technologies that made it possible to build luxury condominiums on the now-valuable slopes rising above the city in Rio’s South Zone. In the period from 1970 to 1973, over 101,000 people were forcibly removed from *favelas* in Rio and relocated into public housing projects, generally several hours and costly bus rides away from the previous sites of life and work.

Inevitably, the urban periphery also became a site for the collective responses of the working class. This means that the periphery relates not only to economic struggles, but also to emerging voices and the symbolic expression of workers, shaping new cultural identities and sense of community among these workers. For instance, networks of solidarity were also important as an alternative means for social reproduction over time. They emerged in an attempt to resist this forced re-allocation, which pushed workers away from their families, communities and the workplace. Moreover, the networks of solidarity were equally important for these people to build their infrastructure, houses and thus mitigate the inefficiency of the state in addressing their needs by any other means than violence (De Oliveira, 2003; 2006; Paiva, Rocha and Carraro, 2010). Hence, the struggle for fundamental citizenship rights and networks of solidarity became an important expression of the collective organisation of the most vulnerable workers in Brazil.

In the late 1980s, the economic model implemented by the military dictatorship stagnated. The economic crisis ran in parallel with the growing organisation of workers though institutionalised and non-institutionalised types of social movements (i.e. grassroots movements and unions), including the foundation of the Workers' Party. In particular, these widespread forms of labour organisation reflect not only these conflicts in the periphery but also the fact that workers were pushed away from conventional form of labour organisation such as trade unionism, because several collective organisations were either co-opted or persecuted by the military dictatorship (Boito Jr., 1991). Over time, these movements increased pressures on the military regime that no longer received support from transnational capital, since the effort against communism was switching towards neoliberalism. Although the democratic transition occurred in the late 1980s, these losses for the working class have not been compensated. Rather, the military dictatorship set conditions for the expansion of

capital in the following decades, while national and international workers have been constrained in their political organisation and working conditions, as will be shown in this thesis.

In the 1990s, Brazil transitioned from the military regime to the dictatorship of the market. The rise of neoliberalism attempted to oppose the dictatorial period with the rhetoric of individual liberties and economic modernisation. However, the transition from the authoritarian military regime to the democratic order was not a popular takeover but an oligarchical one, meaning that an agreement between the falling military elite and neoliberal-elitist supporters ensured a transition without substantial structural reforms in favour of the working class. The adoption of the Washington consensus and IMF guidelines aligned with the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and transnational capital, shaping a new economic agenda without effecting structural reforms in benefit of the working class. Rather, the state disseminated the notion that economic stability and modernisation could bring better living conditions for all. To do this, espoused the philosophy that Brazil should open itself to the world, so that the world would become open to Brazil. This meant that Brazilian development agenda aimed to attract inflows of foreign capital by introducing several measures such as high interest rate, the deregulation of markets, privatisation, reduction of social expenses, decline rate of the *wage purchasing power*, controlled economic inflation and the flexibilization of working conditions. These reforms included Brazil in the global standardization of conditions for production and labour exploitation – while also offering the colonial legacy and its inherent social inequality as an extra source of profit (Santos, 1978; De Oliveira, 2003). Overall, these measures increased the social vulnerability of workers as well as Brazil's dependence on foreign capital to organise its strategies for economic development.

In particular, this neoliberal shift was explicit during the government of Cardoso (1995-2002). The most prodigious author from the school of São Paulo, Cardoso successfully implemented several reforms that controlled economic inflation as well as privatised public goods to attract foreign investment and thus to accelerate national development. On the other hand, structural reforms were not introduced to prevent super-exploitation, but to attract international capital. Social expenses fell increasingly into assistencialism and were insufficient to compensate for the unemployment and the lowering wages of the working class caused by the neoliberal agenda (Bresser-

Pereira, 2011; Dowbor, 2018). This scenario was aggravated by Brazil's high vulnerability to the international financial crises at the end of the decade, causing higher unemployment rates and further cuts on social spending (Bresser-Pereira, 2011). The outcomes were the expansion of the informal labour market and the reduction of the purchasing power of the working class, elements which facilitated the super-exploitation of these workers.

| Year | Real Value of the Minimum Wage (R$) |
|---|---|
| 1990 | 414,15 |
| 1992 | 373,70 |
| 1994 | 346,46 |
| 1996 | 266,17 |
| 1998 | 280,89 |

Table 2.2: Real Value of the Minimum Wage in the 1990s adapted from (DIEESE, 2011).

In the 2000s, the crisis of neoliberalism created conditions for the rise of Workers' Party (2003-2016). The government of Workers' Party comprised the governments of Lula (2003-2010), former president and union leader and Rousseff (2011-2016). It embodied the idea of a progressive and popular government as a reaction against the neoliberalist approach of the previous decade, while also responding to the organisation of the working class, which started in the 80s, as previously mentioned. However, the reality was more complex. After losing three presidential elections prior to his successful campaign and suffering a public backlash from the local bourgeoisie, Lula took the office with the strategy of producing a model of class conciliation (Singer, 2012). This rhetoric allowed him to mitigate the resistance of the local elites to his election. To do this, Lula introduced a new economic model: the so-called 'neo-development' model. It drew upon a combination of social policies and infrastructure projects, while expanding the neoliberal agenda introduced in the previous decade. This aimed to create a political economy favourable to transnational capital, while attempting to gradually develop a Brazilian welfare model and to expand the domestic labour market.

The commodity supercycle was extremely important for sustaining this national model for development. Population growth and infrastructure projects in southern countries – drove the high price and demands for commodities – mainly pushed by

China. This scenario allowed Brazil to invest in south-south relations as an alternative to slightly reduce the country's historical dependence on the United States and its allies. Brazil adopted, particularly during the financial crisis in 2008, expansionary, contra-cyclical policies – increasing tax reductions, mechanisms of social protection and public spending to attract investment and to boost consumption on the national level (Boito Jr. , 2013; Boito Jr. and Berringer, 2013; Pochmann, 2012; Singer, 2012). The initiative not only help Brazil to attract transnational capital, but also to manage the impact of financial crisis in the short term. In this sense, although under very specific circumstances, the commodity supercycle increased Brazil's bargaining power and offered economic conditions to the Workers' Party to shape its own international and national policies, increasing public investment in different areas and infrastructure projects – mainly in projects of energy and transportation (i.e. highways, harbours and airports) to ensure capital better conditions for productivity and circulation.

In addition to economic growth, while this positive international scenario lasted, the government made solid progress in reducing extreme poverty and generating employment for the most vulnerable workers in the labour market. National Programmes of income transfer, higher access to credit (i.e. access to higher education and housing) and the ongoing increase of the minimum wage are just a few of the examples of social programmes, which attempted to boost consumerism and provide social justice. The main economic aspects of Brazil's fast but short economic growth is summarised in the following table:

| Real growth/ % a year | 1999-2002 | 2003-2005 | 2006-2010 | 2011-2014 | 2015-2016 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Minimum wage | 1.8 | 6.8 | 5.9 | 3.0 | 1.2 |
| Commodities price – IMF | 10.3 | 19.1 | 10.5 | -7.0 | -6.5 |
| Federal Investments | 2.0 | 4.7 | 27.6 | 1.0 | -28.4 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GDP | 2.3 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 2.3 | -3.5 |
| Consumption of Families | 1.6 | 2.6 | 5.8 | 3.5 | -3.8 |
| Total investments | -1.2 | 2.0 | 9.1 | 2.2 | -12.1 |
| Exports | 8.5 | 11.7 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 4.3 |
| Economic inflation – IPCA | 8.8 | 7.5 | 4.7 | 6.2 | 8.5 |

Table 2.3: The main economic aspects of Brazil in the last two decades adapted from (Carvalho, 2018).

On the other hand, this model of development was responsible for re-primarization of Brazil's exports, meaning the 10% de-industrialisation rate in Brazil and the country's higher dependence on commodity exports to facilitate the inclusion in the global market (Boito Jr., 2013; Boito Jr. and Berringer, 2013; Pochmann, 2012). Inevitably, this tendency created new insights about the limitations that structural dependency imposes on economic development. As Valencia (2017, p.20) explains:

> (…) what is being witnessed is, in a certain way, the resurrection of the "old" exporting economy of the nineteenth century, but over "modern bases," for example, centred on the speculative financial system, in the importation of computer and microelectronic technology, but in exchange of sacrificing the "endogenous processes of development" of the industry and the internal markets, particularly those designated towards popular consumption.

This included the expansion of super-exploitation in the labour market. Although several social programmes were introduced, they were combined with neoliberal

reforms, which adversely impacted on working conditions in Brazil. These reforms facilitated the emergence of a new morphology of employment in Brazil, allowing the expansion of flexible and precarious working conditions in the formal labour market (Antunes, 2014; Barros and Mendes, 2003; Braga, 2015). As will be shown in this thesis, the transition of workers from informal employment to *formalised vulnerable employment*, poses new challenges in their struggle for social reproduction. This scenario has undermined the protection of workers in the workplace and facilitated super-exploitation, creating a *formalised informality* in employment arrangements. In this sense, while the development strategies in previous decades relied on old mechanisms to reproduce super-exploitation – often by drawing workers to informality –, the recent neoliberal reforms have generated new and modern forms of super-exploitation rather than depending on the older existing forms. As for Haitian workers, this morphology of employment has interplayed with their legal and socio-economic insecurity, creating a pattern of subordination to super-exploitation to be explored in this thesis.

## 2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the literature on migration and super-exploitation. The literature on migration shows the specific condition migrant workers must satisfy to ensure their social reproduction in contemporary capitalist. Studies on the migration-development nexus points to a myriad of mechanisms that move workers outside other social reproduction 'under normal conditions', exposing the nature of capital accumulation in the exploitation of migrant labour. However, migration studies have commonly articulated the theories on migration based on a northern-centric framework and related analytical categories – the welfare state, citizenship models and transnational relations – to explain the subordination of migrant workers to the most precarious forms of employment.

On the other hand, the reality of workers in peripheral countries, and more specifically, in Brazil shows a very distinct scenario in relation to conventional migration theory. This because super-exploitation is not an exception in Brazil, which

may be overcome with full citizenship status or a better job, but the rule which is set in a range of social processes commonly naturalized in this context. The literature on super-exploitation, in turn, has emphasized technical aspects of labour exploitation in Latin America while under-analysing how it has shaped a particular kind of the social reproduction needed for the super-exploitation of workers. As this chapter has revealed, there is an unrealised potential to rethink super-exploitation from the perspective of the social reproduction of workers which will not only show the importance of exogenous dynamics of economic development in peripheral countries but also how super-exploitation is translated into the everyday lives of workers.

This means that while take in isolation both the literature on migration and super-exploitation, may appear incomplete, together they complete each other. Thus, neither of these specific conditions should be neglected. Rather, the combination of these contributions will inform a deeper understanding of how the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants happens in Brazil. Together, the literature on migration and the literature on super-exploitation can reveal patterns of subordination and a set of social relationships that allow capital to drive wages below the labour power of workers as well as alternative that permits migrants to survive and organise their resistance. A multidimensional framework is thus necessary to juxtapose both literature and explore the super-exploitation of Haitian workers from the perspectives of their social reproduction. The above reflections lead this thesis to the following methodological chapter which will propose a research design to address this multidimensional aspect of super-exploitation that shape the experiences of Haitian workers in Brazil.

# 3. Methods

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the research strategy and methods used for data collection. This is a study which adopted an interpretive research philosophy and a mixed methods approach, which consists of 42 semi-structured interviews with open ended questions and secondary quantitative data on immigration policies and labour statistics. Fieldwork observations and informal discussions with migrant workers were also incorporated into data. The methodological choices in this thesis were oriented by two theoretical problems: firstly, to understand the experiences of Haitians during Brazil's development model and, secondly, to offer a refined definition of the super-exploitation of labour in the 21st century.

The first problem addresses limitations in the literature on labour migration which has predominantly elaborated theoretical and conceptual frameworks based on northern countries and the specific local conditions which shape the employment experiences of foreign workers in such countries (i.e. restrictions immigrants from former colonies face in accessing the local state welfare system). Such perspectives find a theoretical stalemate when attempting to theorize the social reality of workers in peripheral countries as they are historically different – meaning that the local working and living conditions have assumed standards in comparison to the way these processes have existed in developed countries (which will be further elaborated in this thesis). This structural problem is addressed in this study through the concept of super-exploitation (Marini, 1973; 1978) as it is grounded on theoretical, historical and context-related patterns of capital-labour relations in Latin America. However, the second theoretical problem involves this conceptual choice and can be explained by the high degree of abstraction in the use of this concept in the existing literature – a limitation which is exacerbated when it comes to the analysis of contemporary social relations and working conditions which shape the super-exploitation of international migrant workers. Consequently, a sub-theoretical and empirical problem arises as a result of this limitation as the ongoing literature is unable to explain how workers are subordinated to super-exploitation and, if so, whether the super-exploitation of

international migrant workers differs from the current understating of super-exploitation. However, there are not only theoretical issues, but also methodological limitations which will be discussed in this chapter. Given the challenges outlined, it is important to remember the research question of this study in order to explain its rationale and research design:

### 3.1.1 Research Questions

R1 - How does the Brazilian citizenship model shape the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil?

R2 - How does the super-exploitation of Haitian workers relate to the changing nature of employment and employer strategies in Brazil's new development model?

R3 - To what extent does the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants relate to their transnational relations and strategies for better living conditions? Relatedly, do the results here lead towards an elaboration of the concept of super-exploitation?

## 3.2 Research Philosophy and Methods

This section discusses the 'interpretive approach' as a research philosophy adopted in the thesis. As Bryman (2016, p. 30) explains an interpretative paradigm consider that 'social reality has a meaning for human beings and therefore human action is meaningful – that is, it has a meaning for them and they act on the basis of the meanings that they attribute to their acts and to the acts of others'. Because social reality is created by people, this thesis argues that the understanding of the experiences of Haitians in Brazil depends on the ability of a study to methodologically approach the totality of social relations which shape the everyday experiences of these migrant workers. For this purpose, the analyses of their narratives must occur within

a context of the recognition of capital-labour relations in Brazilian history and the role the exploitation of immigrant labour has played in contemporary capitalism. This means that the understating of migration is neither descriptive nor in isolated from the broader the political economy of capitalism (Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2009; Delgado Wise, 2017). The positioning is important because it relates not only to different approaches to migration, but also to different ways researchers conduct their analyses and understand the social world.

The philosophical ground upon which this thesis is built, identifies that knowledge is sociality produced by historical events within the scope of the exploitative nature of capitalism. The dispossession of their means of production, force the working class to ensure their social reproduction by selling their labour to the dominant class, meaning that these workers, in exchange for their labour, expect to receive wages to purchase goods and services, and thus reinvigorate their labour power. In this sense, it is through the control over the means of production and unequal power relations (manifested through force and symbolical mechanisms) that the dominant class are able to extract surplus value from the labour of these workers, namely a process of labour exploitation, and thus profit.

Such an approach also means that there is no neutrality or external reality to research interpretation of class struggle and struggle of oppression. This focus differentiates from other approaches such as the positivist paradigm or critical realism – which are analyses based on the allegedly objective notion of a single, observable and external reality. In this sense, in failing to recognize the importance of the interpretative nature in which class struggle is embedded, these other approaches under-explore to the complexity of social relations which engender super-exploitation and allow it to be reproduced.

However, it is understood in this thesis that the historical progress of these capital-labour relations in different contexts have distinctively shaped the conditions of class struggle and the political economy of capitalism which in turn highlights the importance of interpretation for a better understanding of social relations, contradictions and tensions emerging from a specific context. Therefore, the interpretive approach is appropriated as the process of knowledge production is a social practice circumscribed by the development of this mode of production. As Freire (1993, p.103) explains:

> There is no historical reality which is not human. (…) There is only history of humanity, made by people and (as Marx pointed out) in turn making them. It is when the majorities are denied their right to participate in history as Subjects that they become dominated and alienated. Thus, to supersede their conditions as objects by status of Subjects – the objective of any true revolution – requires that the people act, as well as reflect, upon the reality to be transformed.

The rationale is crucial to underlie how migration and the process of labour exploitation are socially and structurally constructed. This means that the study refutes the voluntarist notion of social reality which downplays constraints that are systematically overlapping with the experiences of migrant workers. Rather, it is believed that migration is embedded in the capitalist regime of production, and therefore in social structures, institutions and practices of social actors. While migration is a historical process, patterns of international migration, in the recent history of capitalism, have been shaped by structural dynamics such as colonialism, slavery and unequal development, particularly during the neoliberal area. The control over international migrant workers has been marked by asymmetrical power relations in the global arena and has been increasingly inserted into specific regimes of exploitation – which have increased the dependency and subordination of these workers to sell their labour under very precarious conditions, empowering the dominant class and reducing their production costs (as explained in the previous chapter).

Inevitably, these inter-related structural aspects of social reality have shaped the experiences of migrant workers. One example of this is how the neoliberal state has created and deployed social categories to control international migration: foreign worker, refugee, economic migrant, humanitarian protection, forced migration. Although these legal definitions have been often naturalised in the construction of social analyses, they have, in fact, been produced and increasingly commodified to make migrant workers susceptible to exploitation inside and outside the workplace (Fassin, 2011; Sandoz, 2018). Recognizing the role the state play in shaping these categories and their relationship with the exploitation of migrant labour is to ‘remain sensitive to these continuities and cleavages and to track their relevance for social and political struggles that are cast against the historical and contemporary fronts of

extractive capitalism' (Mezzadra and Nielsen, 2019, p.39). Therefore, the failure to identify how these processes have been socially created, and have reflected an unequal dimension of class struggle, obscures the exploitative nature of migrant labour in contemporary capitalism and, crucially, any potential means to change this condition.

In this thesis, the conditions of labour exploitation and the underlying social costs which migrant workers must pay in Brazil are examined as a pattern of *super-exploitation*. As is the case with migration, the definition of super-exploitation often suffers from naturalised processes and partial perspectives of social reality, and thus requires a systematic understanding of how different aspects of social life are interconnected and organised in Brazil, shaping living and employment conditions. To analyse this complex social phenomenon, however, requires a methodological construction which ensures that the exploratory and interpretative nature of the study is not translated into theoretical vagueness but into how the historical formation of super-exploitation circumscribes the actions of workers. For this purpose, the next section presents the research methods adopted in this thesis.

## 3.3 Mixed methods and Sample

This thesis is primarily concerned with how Haitian workers experience super-exploitation in Brazil. As the research questions show, this thesis considers that a focus on both the narrative of workers in Brazil and the structural conditions within such a context is necessary. This comprehensive approach requires different techniques to grasp how multiple dimensions constitute this reality. A multi-method approach was chosen to match the theoretical and conceptual goals of this thesis. Given the interpretative and primary qualitative nature of investigation, the use of semi-structured interviews seems appropriate. Interviews were conducted until saturation of knowledge was reached in relation to research aims and key themes were identified (Baker, Edwards, and Doidge, 2012; Bryman, 2016). This rationale defined the sample size. 42 Haitians were interviewed in a face-to-face setting, and this sampling consisted of 37 men and 5 women. The limited number of female participants was

unintended. However, it was accepted as it was representative for the study population in Brazil – over 70% of Haitians in Brazil were men – and for their incorporation into male-dominated sectors in the labour market at the time such as civil construction and agribusiness. The initial qualitative data collection consists of 33 interviews which was then complemented by 9 further interviews conducted in a second stage of fieldwork. Participants were randomly selected based on their nationality and location of residency – in the states of São Paulo and Paraná – further details in the section 3.5. The support of community leaders and snowballing techniques contributed to facilitate access. The limited access to this marginalised community and the lack of higher level of trust between the interviewees made this strategy appropriated (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). All participants recruited for interview had been living in Brazil for the at least six months. This strategy ensured that all participants who contributed had a good grasp of working and living conditions in Brazil.

Participants were informed that the interviews focused on their individual experiences of employment and migration. These interviews provided in depth data about the meanings, personal histories, decisions and attitudes of migrant workers within a structural context. In the field of labour migration, theorization is complicated by further social inequalities which are added to the experience of migrants. A clear example of this misleading approach is the dominant national centred approach – this spatialized limitation is often associated with. However, the experiences of migrants relates to many inter-related social processes which within and beyond the destination country. As Fassin (2011) indicates, seeking to comprehend lived experiences often becomes the best methodological approach to understand the challenges migrants face in relation to crossing borders and normative regulations. With regard to employment, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) show how these border struggles, citizenship regimes and geographies are increasingly subordinated to labour markets and, therefore, how migrants experience employment. Similarly, other studies have highlighted that the narratives of migrants have a profound effect on unveiling motivations and purposes which essentially allow these workers to cope with difficulties, conflicts and oppression emerging from precarious employment and exploitation (Alberti, 2014; Tsing, 2009). Therefore, both methodologically and conceptually, migrant narratives become a crucial point to link the social reproduction of workers and their super-exploitation (as further elaborated in the next chapter).In

this sense, to ensure comprehensive data collection, the study organised interviews on broad topics to cover different stages and aspects of the experiences of migrants (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003) – i.e. pre-emigration, the migratory journey, access to citizenship rights in Brazil, employment experiences and community relations. The rationale behind this semi-structured approach was that these pre-defined themes would offer a flexible but also theoretically-engaged framework to explore the experiences of Haitians within a structural context that is based on more than simple facts. The use of semi-structured interviews is thus appropriate as it allows migrants to describe their experiences and tell stories about their own lives, while unveiling potential hidden processes and how migrants negotiate their way through the main challenges of the migration journey. The study therefore approaches migration by exploring the complexities of social phenomena and the different ways they are experienced by different social actors according to their position in a social context (Bourdieu, 2013).

Meanwhile, the main purpose of using secondary data was to portray a broader picture about the experiences of Haitian workers, both a descriptive and methodological level. In addition, this data sought to discover how they related to the rest of the working class in Brazil. These secondary documents were chosen based on their intrinsic relationship with a structural context in key stages of the experiences of Haitians. As Findlay and Li (1999, p.53) explain, migration studies have required 'multi-method approaches to capture not only the practical consciousness of migrants, but also the global influences of structural forces'. The use of mixed methods assumes a continuum into the experiences of workers, rather than a dualism (Graham, 1999). This means that this strategy did not aim to validate the subjective experience of workers through quantitative means (Iosifides, 2017), but to provide further clarification in relation to the structural scenario they were involved and how their situations were similar or different, from the experiences of the rest of the working class. In this context, both objective and subjective dynamics interact and shape the reflection and action in a given social reality or the so-classed *praxis*. As Freire (1993, p.5) explains, 'the subjective aspect exist only in relation to the objective aspect (the concrete reality, which is the object of analyses). Subjectivity and objectivity thus join in a dialectical unity producing knowledge in solidarity with action and vice-versa'.

Another methodological aspect of this study refers to the understanding of the multidimensional nature of super-exploitation. The conventional notion is not only abstract but also methodologically and conceptually loosely because it fails to explain how super-exploitation happens. This is because super-exploitation is not an independent aspect of social life, but rather, an effect of specific social configuration. For instance, there is common methodological thirst for a quantitative methodology on the analyses of super-exploitation (i.e. quantitative measurement of labour power). From the perspective of workers, there are several risks associated with this process as it assumes a standardisation of social relations, neglecting class divisions, agents and institutions which interplay within a specific context and which in turn are inter-related to the labour market and therefore have casual effects on workplace dynamics.

Moreover, some of these aspects are not easily quantified – i.e. racial discrimination, long-distance relationships between migrants and their families, and language issues, amongst other things. These aspects depend on the specific pattern of social reproduction and the meaning migrant workers attach to them. As will be shown in this this thesis, these aspects all contribute to troubled geographies of migration and the super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil. Moreover, although super-exploitation is a structural condition, it also depends on key dynamics and psychosocial constructions as it impacts on how migrants experience employment and organise their strategies for resilience and resistance on an ongoing basis. Not only do these considerations show the potential limitations of quantitative processes for this study, but also how an analysis of super-exploitation from the perspective of migrants is fundamental to this thesis. Therefore, the level of detail required of those experiences and the exploratory nature of this approach to the understanding of super-exploitation show the importance of semi-structured interviews.

### 3.4 Summary of Research Designs and Procedures Methods

Stage 1: Literature review and conceptual problems: establishing key themes and under-theorised dynamics of south-south labour migration. Since the understanding is that migration cannot be isolated from broader perspectives of political economy

perspective, this study identifies the need to move from a focus on developed countries and Keynesian welfare systems to a deeper analysis of Brazil's historical and contextual conditions of labour exploitation.

Stage 2: The literature review informs the elaboration of an analytical framework and research questions to explore how Haitian migrant workers experience employment and living conditions in Brazil on multiple levels.

Stage 3: Strategies for data collection were explored before and during the empirical work. This includes sets of sample, techniques and interview questions. Possible challenges were also considered. Samples were expanded to cover further aspects which were not anticipated, mainly in terms of recruitment and citizenship struggles in the experiences of Haitians.

Stage 4: Fieldwork access was negotiated prior to the arrival in Brazil as well as on site. Migrant organisations were contacted in advance. Further negotiation occurred on an ongoing basis with migrant individuals on site. The support of community leaders and snowballing techniques contributed to facilitate access. Observation techniques provided further context.

Stage 5: Data Analysis – conceptual context – local power relations and structural organisation of labour exploitation. The research adopted a multi-method approach, combining the semi structured interviews with socio-economics and immigration indicators. Further analyses of the literature on migration, but also on employment relations in Brazil, allow a re-interpretation of findings and the conceptualisation of super-exploitation in terms of social reproduction.

Stage 6**:** Findings and writing up. Research referred back to the literature on migration but also on employment relations in Brazil to better interpret findings and conceptual contributions. These were split into three chapters. In addition, these findings were further analysed and informed the discussion of this thesis on the importance of super-exploitation to contemporary capitalism.

### 3.5 Research Sites, Challenges and Fieldwork strategies

Fieldwork was conducted in the states of São Paulo and Paraná – southeast Brazil – between July and October 2016. The decision to include multiple sites in the study aimed to avoid overstating challenges which were strictly related to a specific location rather than identifying wider structural features and social trends. The choice of both São Paulo and Paraná as the locations for this research was not arbitrary, as they are two of three states which have received the highest number of Haitian migrants in Brazil. As will be explained in Chapter 5, one explanation for this is that these states are among the most developed labour markets in Brazil and they require cheap labour for construction sites and in the agribusiness sectors – specifically meat processing in northern Paraná. In this sense, these domestic states have become important destinations for the Haitian community to settle and to search for employment. At earlier stages of their immigration, these trajectories occurred with the support of state and employers and then with the support of Haitian networks – as will be explained in Chapter 5 and 6. The final decision for this multiple site approach occurred after the researcher arranged visits to both sites and spoke with migrant workers, community leaders and civil society organisations.


Illustration 3.1: Fieldwork Location

Some challenges were experienced when negotiating access and this reduced the availability and willingness of Haitians to answer interview questions. The main problems relate to the following: firstly, political economic crises; secondly, the lack of confidence participants had in the researcher and, thirdly, the socio-economic vulnerability of Haitians. The socio-economic vulnerability of Haitians means that these workers lacked the resources, time and strength to dedicate themselves to this study, as most of Haitians work non-social hours, have exhaustive and flexible working routines and live in urban peripheries. With the little free time they had, these workers preferred to rest for another working journey or to spend with their families and friends. Another difficulty can be understood in relation to the economic and political climate at the time of fieldwork was conducted. In 2016, ex-president of Brazil Dilma Roussef (2011-2016), from the Workers' Party, was completing her final days in office following reports of corruption and economic mismanagement, which resulted in her impeachment in controversial circumstances few months later. This scenario began two years earlier after Roussef's re-election, escalating a political polarisation between those against and in support of her impeachment. Because the immigration of Haitians workers was politicised by the Workers' Party, Haitians become a target of discriminatory rhetoric and actions by employers, local press and Brazilian society as a whole. Combined with the lack of employment opportunities at the bottom of the labour market, this political polarisation led Haitians to feel that their anonymous participation in this study could cost them their jobs and visas in Brazil. In a buffer zone in São Paulo (Chapter 5), Haitians were particularly suspicious about the study and mentioned that employers blacklisted Haitians who complain about their living and working conditions in Brazil.

Alternative methods were also deployed to mitigate these issues, including observation techniques and informal discussions. In the *buffer zones*, visits were made to have informal discussions with migrants and observe routines, practices and interactions. Another strategy was to conduct the interviews at the homes of Haitians. They seemed to prefer the privacy and convenience of the study coming to them. Thus, the majority of interviews were conducted under these circumstances. This strategy was not anticipated but it contributed substantially to the further development of the methodological and theoretical approach adopted in this thesis. As a result of

the aforementioned challenges, the interests of Haitians were taking into consideration and interviews were conducted in their homes and neighbourhoods. On one hand, this interview setting was disadvantageous: interviews were disturbed by flows of people (as Haitians generally share homes) or external noises – i.e. loud music and cars. On the other hand, participants felt more comfortable being interviewed in this setting, and this contributed to more informal and relaxed discussions about their realty.

One unexpected theoretical advantage of this approach was obtaining a deeper view of their everyday struggle, the private spaces and community relations directly shaping their subordination to super-exploitation – as will be elaborated in the findings. For instance, the researcher visited peripheral neighbourhoods and areas populated primarily by Haitians, which showed the poor access Haitians have to social services in Brazil. This highlights the importance of observation techniques to understand and visualise the extension of the subject's struggle and what they meant when they described issues related to accommodation, housing, transportation and job searches. Establishing this perspective, full of significant interest for the investigator, shed light on the financial and social cost of Haitians' social reproduction – meaning how they experience structural constraints in urban areas and how this impacts and reflect on workplace dynamics in Brazil. Therefore, this approach started to unveil a pattern of super-exploitation under-theorised until that time.

The fact that the researcher had no previous acquaintances within this community imposed further challenges. In addition to the points highlighted above, the lack of higher level of trust between the interviewees and the interviewer possibly constrained their narratives and participation, pushing Haitians towards feelings of self-preservation. Moreover, it is clear that the fact that the researcher was a Brazilian male, may have positioned him as not only an outsider but a member of the Brazilian community is responsible for the insecurity these Haitian workers experience. This is in addition to the potential cultural differences that may have existed between the interviewer and interviewees. This indicates that the framing of the fieldwork and research goals could had been improved to help participants to identify with the potential benefits of the study and, therefore, have more positive attitudes towards the research. On the other hand, the nationality of the researcher offered an inside position with regards to the forms of structural oppression which exist to the marginalised

communities in Brazil – i.e. the socio-spatial marginalisation of workers or the extent of the racial discrimination they faced in Brazil.

The alternative strategy adopted here was to contact community leaders and local migrant organisations. The researcher attended festivals about migration, discussion tables, meetings in organisations in both in São Paulo and Maringá (Paraná) so that trust could be built. These meetings were also helpful in providing insights into the situation of Haitians in Brazil, building trust and finding study participants. However, this process was carefully considered in terms of diversity and demographics to acknowledge the limitations of snowball techniques (Atkinson and Flint, 2001) and to avoid overplaying the experiences of a specific substrate of the Haitian population and their previous acquaintances – i.e. family and friends who emigrated to Brazil together –, which could overstate certain experiences such as the role migrant networks play in the experiences of these workers. Moreover, interviews were conducted in Portuguese or French which forced Haitians not to speak their native language, Haitian Creole. Although this language limitation did not seem to preclude the participation of most Haitians, it may have impacted on the depth and richness of their narratives. Gender may have also caused distress as Haitian women were particularly resistant to participation in the study. However, it is important to highlight that due to the male dominated population of Haitians in Brazil at the time – over 70% of Haitians in Brazil were men – this study was unable to provide conclusive evidence that a methodological limitation caused this issue.

Finally, the exploratory nature of this study identifies further limitations in the conceptualisation of super-exploitation. As will be explored in the discussion section, there are opportunities for further research on other forms of oppression that intersect with Haitian nationality, such as age, class background, race and gender. Researchers should also pay further attention to alternatives and potential responses which could ensure the protection of these workers and mobilise collective action.

### 3.6 Ethics

All participants were assured of the confidentiality of the study. Interviews were anonymised in two stages. They were first coded and then real names were replaced by alias names. Interviews were conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines and data protection guidelines of the University of Strathclyde. Prior to the start of interviews, this study obtained the approval of an Ethics Committee at the University of Strathclyde. A mutual sense of respect and confidence was established between researcher and participants. The scientific nature of the study was explained to all participants, as well as its broad objectives, and the participants had the opportunity to ask questions in relation to the study. This approach also aimed to prevent deception and avoid offering misleading information about gains and risks associated with this study. Participants were also provided with a verbal and written guarantee to the ethical commitment of this study, ensuring the welfare and dignity of participants. Once everything had been clarified, potential participants who continued to show a willingness to take part in this study, signed an informed consent form – which was available in English, French and Portuguese. Participants were also informed that they had the right to withdraw their participation from the research at any point and were provided with the contact details of the investigator and the PhD supervisor, with whom they were encouraged to communicate in case of inadequate ethical procedures or to request information about the outcome of this study.

### 3.7 Research Analysis

The method of data analysis was characterized by the connections between broader patterns of events and the experiences of workers. These social interactions are not a single but rather a continuous process of empirical investigation aiding the conceptual development of the thesis. The richness of the fieldwork and the previous limitation in the existing literature also leads the research to adopt a migrant-centred approach to reflect and synthetize the meaning of data, rather than subordinating the

analyses to the state of destination. This perspective *from below* means that in the interest of engaging with the narratives of migrants, the interviews would become a key point of orientation and interpretation. As explored in the previous chapter, this rational was conceptually elaborated based on the definition that patterns of social reproduction are socially constructed and embedded in historical context. This means that they could not be divorced from the conditions of international migrant workers in contemporary capitalism.

In practical terms, the process of transcribing the interviews was crucial to the elaboration of empirical data. The researcher built mind maps combining the narratives of Haitians with symbols and pictures, creating a spatially sensitive framework. This allowed for a visual representation of these trajectories and a first sight of how this new proletariat is formed. This inevitably forced the researcher to spend more time understanding this reality rather than focusing on previous categories of analyses in the literature. The importance of working with this approach gradually increased in the following stages.

The second stage consisted of listening to and reading these narratives. Key points and emerging themes were coded by using the software NVIVO. Through this process, twelve general themes were highlighted. These broad analyses were empirical but served to highlight the struggle of Haitians between their constraints and their motivation for certain actions – i.e. the subtle ways in which super-exploitation is in embedded in these experiences. This aimed to challenge the notions that migrants oversimplify decisions, limiting them to a decision about staying or leaving a country or about subordinating themselves to super-exploitation. Rather, there were more complex processes and contingent interactions shaping the means and attitudes of workers.

The final and third stage of analysis focused on establishing links between this material and the existent literature. Findings impacted on conventional approaches and the standardisation of analytical categories or frameworks of analyses. This is because although they were still relevant to the understanding of migrant experiences – they had very specific form and meaning in the Brazilian-Haitian context. In the case of Haitians, the narratives of these migrant workers showed that their super-exploitation is overdetermined by constellations of social relations and actors according to their constrained mobility in different contexts. As the multidimensional

struggle of Haitians constituted their social reality, the understanding of labour exploitation and the experiences of migrant workers needed further theorization. Consequently, these findings contributed to the conclusions presented in this thesis.

## 3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research methods applied in this thesis. The methodological approach designed for this thesis aimed to move the analysis of super-exploitation from the perspective of capital to a labour-centred approach. The thesis posits its philosophical, ethical and theoretical grounds, showing how they link to the research questions and the mixed methods used for this study. It also presented potential limitations of the study in theoretical and empirical terms due the nature of the data and fieldwork. As highlighted, research procedures and data analysis aimed to create mechanisms to focus on the narratives of migrants and the nature of their struggle within the Brazilian-Haitian context. Findings showed connections between different realms of Haitians' lives and their super-exploitation in Brazil. The following three chapters present these contributions, which will focus on citizenship (Chapter 4), workplace (Chapter 5) and transnational relations (Chapter 6).

# 4. Citizenship and livelihood strategies for Haitians in Brazil

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the regulation of citizenship and how it relates to the super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil. The notion of citizenship refers to how the Brazilian state regulates the conditions of labour exploitation and social reproduction – i.e. minimum wages, social rights and benefits. The overarching argument is that the wages the Brazilian citizenship model regulates are insufficient for assuring the most basic needs of Haitians. Rather, citizenship imposes a pattern of control that transforms Haitians into *peripheral workers* in the local labour market by constraining their social reproduction and rendering them more vulnerable than other workers to super-exploitation. This market-mediated regime suggests a definition of *peripheral inclusion as* a form of membership which fails to ensure 'peripheral workers' their basic needs and becomes largely dependent on complementary social systems to satisfy them, assuming particular social, occupational and spatial expressions. The notion of peripheral inclusion/the peripheral worker facilities a more systemic understanding of super-exploitation and an interpretation of how the neoliberal citizenship model implemented during Workers' Party governments – Brazil's development model – transformed Haitians into peripheral workers.

To date, most of the studies on super-exploitation have limited their operationalisation of this concept to show examples of super-exploitation in the workplace (i.e. intensification and extensification of the working day), while broader aspects of the social reproduction of super-exploited workers remain underdeveloped. A focus on citizenship, however, reveals one key mechanism the Brazilian state uses to subordinate migrant workers to super-exploitation and what kind of social relations super-exploited workers must engage in to mitigate the implications of receiving insufficient wages in their social reproduction. Hence, the focus on citizenship allows a better understanding of capital-state relations in a wide range of social settings which shape the super-exploitation of Haitian workers. This chapter addresses this element by exploring research question one:

R1 How does the Brazilian citizenship model shape the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil?

In this chapter, the notion of citizenship defines the critical role the Brazilian state plays in shaping super-exploitation based on the regulation of minimum direct wages and 'social wages' such as housing, transportation, education and political rights. Although citizenship models in developed and peripheral countries are characterized by substantial distinctions, the notion of citizenship is applied to link the literature on migration to the regulatory practices of the Brazilian state when it comes to the working and living conditions of people in its territory. As previously highlighted in the literature review, there is extensive literature on the relationship between the citizenship status of migrant workers and the experience of these workers in the labour market contemporary. The focus has been on how neoliberal states have used citizenship to regulate forms of inclusion and exclusion into the receiving country (De Genova, 2013, McGovern, 2012). Migrant workers, while sustaining economic development in essential employment sectors, lack full access to citizenship status. These political and juridical differentiations impact on unequal standards of employment, social rights and welfare for migrants in these countries (McKay at al., 2009; Mezzadra and Nielson; 2013; De Giorgi, 2010). This means that, despite recent neoliberal attacks that undermined the working class as a whole, the subordination of migrants relates to the additional struggles these workers face to protect their social reproduction in the receiving country. Therefore, citizenship can be viewed as an aspect of state regulation of labour-capital relations which complicates the social reproduction of migrants and increases their subordination to more precarious jobs in the labour market.

Although these latter authors allow for important contributions, their analyses are inadequate to explain the citizenship-super-exploitation nexus in peripheral countries, where full citizenship status has been insufficient to prevent the predominance of structural poverty and super-exploitation. The rationale behind these analyses of citizenship in the literature is that labour migration was built on historical patterns of social reproduction of the working class and the expanded reproduction of capital in developed countries (Munck, 2008; Delgado Wise and Covarrubias, 2008; Stewart and Garvey, 2015). Minimum wages and social rights are necessary not only

to ensure the biological reproduction of workers, but also the social reproduction of these workers, which historically included the consumption of goods in domestic markets and a social welfare system. This means that there is a large amount of social spend in these countries which impacts upon the role of migration in relation to precarious employment.

On the other hand, the historical patterns of capital-labour relations in Brazil have shaped a different citizenship model in which super-exploitation is the norm rather than the exception. As previously shown, Marini's work (1973; 1978) indicated that one aspect of super-exploitation is that the social reproduction of workers is neither assured by employers nor the state. This occurs because in a productive system based on super-exploitation, the interests of local dominant classes are focused on external markets so that workers are perceived by their exploitable labour power but not necessarily as consumers in the cycle of capital accumulation. This thesis argues that this rationale has shaped the Brazilian citizenship model imposing as it does few limits to capital accumulation on the domestic level. As previously highlighted in the literature review, the regulation of citizenship has been historically essential to sustaining the symbiotic relationship between the state and the most precarious form of exploited labour (Santos, 1978; 2000; Souza, 2003; Paiva, Rocha and Carraro, 2010; De Oliveira, 2006). Local workers have systematically experienced limited access to wages, basic social rights and infrastructure which could ensure their social reproduction (Kowarick, 1980; 1985; De Oliveira, 2003). This pattern of citizenship regulation has often occurred in a violent manner reminiscent of the past existence of slavery and military dictatorship in Brazil as well as the ongoing practices of mass incarceration, political repression and the co-opting of labour organizers. These practices are deployed to reproduce a pattern of control required to subordinate workers to super-exploitation. Therefore, super-exploitation is by no means restricted to migrant workers but forms part of the totality of historical labour-capital relations in Brazil. Nevertheless, this thesis seeks to demonstrate the specificity of the super-exploitation of migrant workers.

In the last two decades, Brazil's neo-development model has sharply relied both rhetorically and financially on synchronizing the improvement of citizenship rights with economic growth (Braga, 2015). The government has attempted to compensate workers for historical patterns of super-exploitation with social policies to boost

consumption and domestic industries. Among these strategies are the increased access to credit, cash transfer programmes such as 'Family Allowances' (Bolsa Familia) and infrastructure expansion such as 'The Growth Acceleration Programme' (PAC). While these social achievements should not be understated, these changes have not provided solid structural changes that benefit the most vulnerable workers. By focusing on the expansion of citizenship through assuring individual consumerism beside the expansion of capital circulation with massive infrastructure projects (Abdala, 2014; Braga, 2015; Mota, 2012) the state has consolidated the emergence of a distinctly neoliberal citizenship model (Gonçalves, 2013; Singer, 2012) whose main feature is the peripheral condition. A form of constrained inclusion in which individuals are increasingly relying on their economic resources to access social rights otherwise not available to them. In this chapter, the relationship between citizenship and super-exploitation is explored specifically in relation to Haitian workers in Brazil.

Findings show that state regulation of citizenship contributes to super-exploitation of Haitians because their wages are insufficient to ensure their social reproduction. Specifically, the peripheral citizenship model acts in favour of employers by both regulating low wages and failing to provide Haitians with a sufficient social wage in the form of housing, transportation and education. These limitations are often aggravated by common dynamics of peripheral countries such an economic crises and high inflation, as has been the case in Brazil. Moreover, although the creation of a humanitarian visa for Haitians was intended to announce their full integration into the Brazilian citizenship model and the local labour market, data shows an inadequacy of integration policies and Haitians' subjection to socio-legal and political restrictions. While Haitians are seemingly an integral part of the contemporary workforce in Brazil, the limitations outlined above have shaped their *struggle* and ultimately aggravated their vulnerability to super-exploitation. Haitians, in turn, are unable to afford these social services and living costs, which push them to engage in a set of alternative social relations to ensure social reproduction. This is expressed not only in their subordination to super-exploitation, as will be explored in Chapter 5, but also in forms of spatial segregation, shared accommodation, among other everyday strategies. Therefore, the experiences of Haitians resonate with Marini's argument in relation to

social reproduction, while their differential access to and need for citizenship rights expands Haitian subordination to super-exploitation in the workplace.

This chapter begins by examining how low-wage (direct wage) employment has shaped the subordination of Haitians workers. Between the narratives of pauperisation and the idealisation of Brazil's citizenship model, Haitians reveal the reality of super-exploited workers in a low-wage country and its implications for their living conditions. The wages of Haitians are insufficient for their 'basket of goods' (essential food items) and simple social habits. This situation is further complicated by ordinary elements which are present in everyday lives of workers in peripheral countries such as economic crisis and rising inflation.

The second section explores the relationship between the social reproduction of Haitians and their social wage. Rather than mitigating the impact of super-exploitation on the living conditions of Haitian workers, the low value of the social wage has facilitated the spatial segregation of Haitians and has provided new challenges to their social reproduction. These are illustrated by the experiences of Haitians in the urban periphery where there is a lack of settlement policies for Haitians as well as a shortage of satisfactory housing, healthcare and transportation. These social wages are also the focus of Haitian collective strategies to reduce their living costs and thus to enable their social reproduction.

The third section shows how peripheral inclusion also aggravates the segmentation of Haitians in the labour market. Although the humanitarian visa should have given them full access to citizenship rights, it has been undermined by the lack of settlement policies and old forms of subordination in Brazil's immigration policies. For example, Haitians face legal restrictions to formally engage in political actions as well as the devaluation of their educational and professional credentials. One outcome is that these restrictions have compromised their upward social mobility is so far as they ensured that the value of Haitian labour remained the lowest in the labour market, making it further exposed to super-exploitation.

This chapter concludes by focusing on how the differential inclusion of Haitians into the Brazilian citizenship model has contributed to transform Haitians into a specific kind of peripheral worker and complicated their experiences of an already exclusive model. They are unenviably limited by new and old forms of subordination and conditions of employment. The fact that Haitians are peripheral to some of the social

benefits and face super-exploitation in the workplace hinders their ability to purchase basic goods necessary for their social reproduction, facilitating further subordination to super-exploitation. Therefore, the Brazilian citizenship model is a crucial aspect of the domestic organisation of super-exploitation.

## 4.2 Citizenship and peripheral wages in Brazil

This section explores the effect of direct wages on constraining the social reproduction of Haitian migrants in Brazil. Marx (2011) shows that the direct wage in capitalist society sustains basic sustenance for workers to sell their labour and to socially reproduce themselves. More broadly, it assures the consumption of goods and therefore the expanded reproduction of capital. Direct wages are thus central to citizenship models in capitalist social relations. For Marini (1973), what is different in peripheral countries, such as Brazil, is that super-exploitation prevents workers from socially reproducing themselves with their regular wages. In this sense, workers depend to greater extent on their strategies to survive, which may represent further subordination to super-exploitation or even the deterioration of their labour power in the long run. This section addresses this aspect of citizenship in Brazil and discusses the implication of low wages on the living conditions of Haitians. Findings show that Haitians' direct wages are insufficient for their most basic needs such as food and ordinary social habits, while they also face pressure from structural elements such as high inflation and economic crisis. The narratives of Haitians indicate frustration in relation to their expectations toward emigration. These experiences demonstrate how the minimum wage is one key aspect which contributes to super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil and therefore shapes their struggle to attain their social reproduction.

The regulation of minimum direct wages is a social right within the scope of citizenship in Brazil, which should be understood as the minimum rate employers are legally allowed to pay their employees monthly for their labour power. Whereas employers can pay higher wages, overtime wages and bonus pay on top of the minimum wage, a statutory and inflexible minimum amount should ensure that an employee's monthly income is enough to cover the costs of living. In this sense, the

minimum wage is one of the main forms which the capitalist state uses to regulate labour-capital relations.

The implementation of a monthly minimum wage occurred with Brazil's industrialisation in the 1940s. The aim was to accommodate this emergent pattern of labour exploitation with the growing urbanisation and proletarianisation of the local population. In addition to its social achievement, the statutory minimum wage regulated class struggle and facilitated production by systematising the value of labour power for the local bourgeoisie (Lucio, 2005; De Oliveira, 2003). However, as Marini's work (Marini, 1978) has previously shown, the wages of super-exploited workers have historically been below the amount required for doing so. While this characteristic of super-exploitation has served employers to reduce production costs, they have had several implications for the living conditions of workers beyond the workplace. As Santos (2000) explains, Brazil's regulation of a statutory minimum wage has assisted the economic interests of companies rather assuring the social reproduction of workers which is why they have never been treated as citizens.

The creation of jobs and an increase in the minimum wage have been important legacies of Brazil's neo-development model *(*Braga, 2015). Brazil has experienced the lowest unemployment rate in its history, accompanied by wages increasing approximately 80% during the government of the Workers' Party (PTs) (DIEESE, 2018). This attempt has aimed to increase the consumption of the working class and thus to strengthen the domestic labour market and indigenous industries. On the other hand, these changes have not been enough to compensate for historical inequalities in social reproduction of the working class (see table 4.1) or emerging precarious working conditions, as will be elaborated in this thesis. For instance, by the time the empirical data was collected, the Brazilian living wage was 3.992,75 reais ($1.106, 02), which is 4.54 times the current minimum wage shaping Haitian employment (DIEESE, 2016). More specifically, the price of the local food parcel increased 3,67% in a month, costing equivalent to 50,95% of the minimum wage (DIEESE, 2018). In addition to adverse weather conditions, this is associated with the dependence of the local economy on external markets: factors include the reduction of growing areas, which have been replaced by export commodities such as corn and soya (Bombardi, 2017).

| Year | Minimum Wage | Living Wage |
|---|---|---|
| 2002 | R$200.00 | R$1,154.63 |
| 2003 | R$240.00 | R$1,396.50 |
| 2004 | R$260.00 | R$1,527.56 |
| 2005 | R$300.00 | R$1,497.23 |
| 2006 | R$350.00 | R$1,436.74 |
| 2007 | R$380.00 | R$1,688.35 |
| 2008 | R$415.00 | R$2,178.30 |
| 2009 | R$465.00 | R$1,994.82 |
| 2010 | R$510.00 | R$2,011.03 |
| 2011 | R$545.00 | R$2,212.66 |
| 2012 | R$622.00 | R$2,519.97 |
| 2013 | R$678.00 | R$2,750.83 |
| 2014 | R$724.00 | R$2,915.07 |
| 2015 | R$788.00 | R$3,325.37 |
| 2016 | R$880.00 | R$3,992.75 |

Table 4.1: Comparison between the minimum wage and the living wage in Brazilian reais during Brazil's development model adapted from (DIEESE, 2016).

In particular, workers in the most precarious jobs are the most affected by this discrepancy. This is the case of people of African descent, who since colonial times, have been predominantly at the bottom of the labour market. Approximately 80% of these workers, a category in which Haitians are included, earn up to two minimum wages (Oxfam Brasil, 2017), which still represents less than 50% of the required living wage in Brazil. Despite this relative social inequality within the working class, this must also be interpreted in its wider structural features. This is because this kind of low payed employment resonates with the remuneration of 94% of jobs created during Brazil's neo-development model (Pochmann, 2012). The rise of the minimum wage has reduced the wage gap during Brazil's neo-development phase, the wages of black workers are on average 56% lower than the wages of white workers in Brazil (IBGE, 2016). While the average wage of white workers is R$1589 per month, black workers earn on average R$898 per month. A key reason for limiting the reduction of this gap is that black workers are concentrated in jobs at the bottom of the labour market, where they commonly face high turnover rates and informal contracts – the dominant morphology of employment in this period. As a result, black workers, who represent approximately 55% of the workforce, constitute almost three-quarters of the poorest 10% of workers in the country. Therefore, poorly paid employment, the most common

form of labour performed by Haitians, cannot be separated from the structural organisation of employment in the local labour market.

> There were rumours, which were even broadcast on radio stations, telling us that the Brazilian and the Haitian governments were expecting Haitians to migrate to Brazil. The Brazilian government said that as soon as Haitians arrived here they were going to have opportunities: opportunities to live there, to go to university and to learn there…and those who didn't want to study, they were entitled to work and to join companies there.
>
> Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old

As Stevenson highlights, the rhetoric of this new citizenship model has also shaped the immigration experience of Haitians. Like many other young Haitians, Stevenson migrated to Brazil motivated by citizenship benefits. Haitians, lacking solid information about Brazil given the lack of previous migration history between both countries, were highly motivated by Brazil's economic growth and domestic social policies. In addition to adverse domestic conditions in Haiti, this progressivist scenario in Brazil was used by Haitian state to mislead these workers (see further discussion of this in Chapter 6) and push them to migrate, which eventually contributed to their idealisation of Brazil. The following narratives of Haitians draws attention to the gap between their previous idealised view of Brazilian citizenship and their actual experience of pauperisation and super-exploitation.

Commonly, Haitians indicate promises of wages that were much higher than the average rates they actually found in Brazil. This is evident in the narrative of Daniel Damas in which he describes the income expectations of Haitians:

> In Haiti, people were told they could make 5.000, 10.000, 15000 reais in Brazil. They thought that the dollar was not very high at that time; it was a good deal. Let's go to Brazil!
>
> Daniel Damas, 33 years old

Data indicates that although the minimum wage has significantly increased over the last two decades, it remains insufficient for Haitians to make a living in the face of the protracted social inequality and the rise of living costs in Brazil. The average income of interviewed Haitians has been close to the statutory minimum wage, with earnings between 900 and 1500 reais, which is equivalent to approximately $249 to

$415 (US)**.** This variation in Haitian wages is largely explained by the overtime hours Haitians manage to work each month, as will be explored in Chapter 5.

This fluctuation also means that Haitians have frequently been unable to maintain this level of average income over the year. The economic fluctuation in their earnings has occurred due to the morphology of their employment, which has provided instability, a high turnover rate and subsequently, lower numbers of working hours per month (further discussion in Chapter 5)**.** For instance, in 2009, during Brazil's economic growth, 85,3% of the above-mentioned created jobs lasted for less than one year , a feature which has only increased with the economic recession in the following years (Pochmann, 2012).

Nevertheless, the economic boom in Brazil allowed Haitians to temporarily mitigate several economic constraints related to their low wages. Typically, Haitians had many jobs opportunities at the bottom of the labour market and worked overtime hours because of the seasonal nature of their jobs in the civil construction and agribusiness sectors, which required a large supply of labour in extremely vulnerable conditions. The dynamics in these workplaces came with a price as will be shown in Chapter 5. Over time, these constraints have tightened as Brazil's economy stagnates and Haitians can no longer find compensation for lower wages to the same extent.

The explicit frustration of Haitians workers is illustrated by Jean Baptiste's personal history. He has been unable to keep a steady job in three years. After two years in Brazil, he decided to increase his family income by bringing his wife to Brazil and by opening a hairdressing saloon in his living room, which was his lifetime dream. However, his wife has been unemployed for over a year and Jean Baptiste, despite having two jobs, has been unable to afford his living costs. He indicates that his average income in Brazil is lower than in Haiti when adjusted for living costs but structural unemployment in his country of origin prevents him from returning home. As described below:

> A person who can work there [in Haiti], who is working there, I assure you she is making more money than we are here. The problem is that we are here because we can't find work there.
>
> Jean Baptiste, 36 years old

Consumption is the dimension that best reflects the effect low wages have on Haitian living conditions. The narratives of consumption may be associated with daily basic needs for short-term reproduction but also more broadly articulated with the subjectivities of these migrants for reproducing their labour power. As previously mentioned, consumption is becoming increasingly more relevant to this discussion as it has been a crucial part of citizenship in Brazil's neo-development model (Braga, 2015; De Oliveira, 2006; Singer, 2012). The rationale is that workers will have better living conditions because they can purchase goods. However, the experiences of Haitians show that the scrutiny of this citizenship model cannot be divorced from broader structural issues and the everyday lives of these workers in Brazil.

In this sense, the narratives of Haitians shed light on the contradictions between these optimistic state strategies for domestic development and the real struggle to guarantee the social reproduction of super-exploited workers. The consumption-related narratives of Haitians indicate the deterioration and the pauperisation of these workers. Consequently, Haitians have shown how their ambitions have gradually switched from improving living conditions to a matter of survival in Brazil – meaning that super-exploitation commonly forces workers to replace their social reproduction with their struggle for biological reproduction.

One example is Jemmyson Durand, 38 years old, who arrived in Brazil in December 2013. In two and a half years, he has worked 55 hours a week on average aiming to improve his life, which exceeds by 11 hours the weekly working time limit in Brazil and represents an equivalent to a full extra week of work over the course of one month. These efforts have eventually resulted in health issues and frustration rather than in a better life. In this example, he explains how his whole salary was spent in the first half of the month: 'I spent all the money that I had to pay the electricity bill. I have never been able to buy anything for myself and I work over 10 hours per day'.

The issue of consumption is also evident in the narrative of Patrick Sicot, who describes emigration as an investment, from which he expected to purchase durable goods. Patrick is 37 years old and arrived in Brazil in September 2013. In Brazil, he intended to 'escape from economic instability in Haiti' so that he could provide for his family in Haiti and save money to purchase a home or a lot to build one. The high living costs and low wages have frustrated his plans as he can barely pay his rent. The

extract below shows this as he compares his wages in Brazil to those in 'other countries':

> In every country in the world, when you work, you earn something and you can save it. In Brazil, it is different; it is difficult to do so. I work for 1000 reais and spend everything. In other countries, you work and you can buy a lot of land, a home. In Brazil, it is hard to do so with the minimum wage.
>
> You can't save in the bank either. I have a bank account, but I can't save. I can't save! I pay 1000 reais [rent] for this home. Plus 1300 reais for utilities. Then, food...
>
> Patrick Sicot, 37 years old

Another example illustrates the impact of direct wages on wider aspects of Haitians' social lives in Brazil. These low wages have affected social relations, and dignified forms of social integration for Haitians. As Stevenson Chaumeille's comparison highlights his 'life was much more pleasant [in Haiti] than it is in Brazil'. In his narrative, he indicates that his life has been reduced to work under very precarious conditions:

> My life is only to leave work and come home; leave home and go to work. But when I was in my country, I had opportunities to go to other cities, see my friends, go to the beach, go to dancing clubs and listen to the music. Here, it is the worst, I can't do that. I can't do it! Morally, even psychologically, there is a delay for me. I feel like I am a disabled person.
>
> Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old

In addition to low wages, the inflation of local prices is crucial for this analysis as it has diminished the consumption power of these workers. The rapid economic growth and national incentives to consume have been followed by high inflation. This may seem contradictory at the first glance since the minimum wages have significantly increased during Brazil' neo-development model. However, interviews show that the way the national governments deals with this data is different than how workers effectively experience it: on an everyday basis. One key explanation is that the regulation of the statutory minimum wage only increases once a year and is unable to retroactively compensate for the rising costs. In Brazil, workers then struggle for a year until a formal readjustment is provided. A readjustment in their wages which is

calculated based on the inflation and economic growth of the previous year and not on the forthcoming one. This creates further difficulties for workers given the moderate rates of inflation seen in Brazil over the period – between 4.5% and 7.5% (IPEA, 2019).

On the other hand, other elements of the economic lives of Haitians are not so regulated. They are subject to pressure and the strategies of other social actors, such as landlords (discussion in the next section) and employers, deploy according to their own interests – this highlights the importance of informality in this context and how it interplays with the vulnerability of Haitians in Brazil. For instance, the narratives of Haitians indicate that employers have not offered pay rises or have deployed other strategies to keep wages at the lower level (see further discussion of this in Chapter 5). Haitians, fear unemployment and have little bargaining power, in this unfavourable economic scenario. As Patrick Sicot, 37 years old, explains that 'the living costs increase but the salary remains the same', 'I cannot complain about it. If I complain they will fire me'. Therefore, the attitudes of these actors intensify how Haitians experience these changes.

Further evidence of this devaluation is shown in household dynamics. The consumption of most basic items for feeding themselves and their families is also compromised. For instance, the rising price of basic food commodities. As Patrick continues, he shows the dramatic implications of costs fluctuation in the ongoing struggle of Haitians. 'Today I need 14 reais, 14 reais to buy just beans!' says Patrick with frustrated and exalted voice. His example of the price of beans is crucial as they are a staple in the everyday meal in both Brazil and Haiti. In July 2016, when Patrick was interviewed, the price of beans specifically increased 30% or 216% since he arrived in Brazil (DIEESE, 2016). The narrative of Toussaint Duprés indicates a similar issue:

> When I arrived, it was a bit better because a carton of milk cost about one Brazilian real at the time. Maybe up to one and a half. Today, one carton of milk costs up to four Brazilian reais, and the price of beans and a carton of milk has increased a lot. It kills us because we are still earning the minimum wage. There are people here working for 900 reais.
>
> Toussaint Duprés, 28 years old

Inevitably, interviews indicated that some Haitians have also experienced starvation and malnutrition. This is the story of Isaac Desliens, who is 44 years old and

was a gardener in Haiti. In Brazil, he has searched for jobs in several sectors but has not found a stable job and has been unemployed for seven months. In this situation, he has depended on the donation and support of colleagues to survive: ‘a lot of people have given me food because this is the only way. I don’t have money. Because I don’t work, I don’t have money to eat.’

This narrative also corresponds to the experience of Michel Lapres 39 years old, who has been in Brazil since April 2015. He has been unemployed for seven months as he can no longer find jobs in the civil construction sector. Michel owes debits in Haiti, due to his emigration, and in Brazil, since he cannot afford his bills and rent. Without means to survive or improve his life, he has depended on his ‘friends from his church, who donate food parcels [to him] every month’. In this sense, this external assistance has been the only choice of these workers who are unable to find steady jobs in Brazil.

This section has illustrated the ways in which direct wages have constrained Haitians’ social reproduction in Brazil. Although Haitians have been formally incorporated into the local labour market, their wages are extremely low and insufficient to cover their basic needs. Not only has the value of wages failed to keep pace with rising living costs in Brazil but, more importantly, they have complicated their social reproduction. Nevertheless, these vulnerabilities in employment conditions are not restricted to migrants, but part of changing employment which has affected the poorest workers in Brazil. This chapter now turn to explore the role indirect wages play in subordinating Haitians. Although insufficient direct wages are a key factor constraining Haitians’ experiences, they must also be considered in the face of broader features of the Brazilian citizenship model. For the purpose of this analysis, the next feature of the discussion is organised in two sections: firstly, it considers the extent to which the lack of settlement policies and the deficiency of social rights expose Haitians to forms of spatial segregation in Brazil. Secondly, it shows how legal restrictions regulate Haitians’ upward social mobility of Haitians. While the former is a combination of the lack of specific social wages for migrants with a precarious local infrastructure, the latter refers to formal restrictions which have excluded Haitians from the existing social rights. Together, they have constituted sub-levels of citizenship regulation which have pushed Haitians to engage in a set of social relations to survive, ultimately contributing to their super-exploitation in Brazil.

### 4.3 Citizenship and peripheral spatial relations

This section examines the limited access Haitians have to indirect wages – otherwise known as social wages – and how this relates to super-exploitation in Brazil. Social wages should be understood as state-provided rights and social benefits offered to individuals in return for their taxes, which may complement workers' wages and ensure minimum living standards. Findings show how the absence or poor quality of social wages such as language training, transportation and health care compromises the social reproduction of Haitians. Although these elements are very distinct from each other, they can be traced back to the role the Brazilian state plays in ensuring the super-exploitation of Haitians rather than their social reproduction. For Haitians, in turn, these services become an extra source of wage expropriation that they are unable to afford. Haitians often develop their own strategies in relation to each of these wages in an attempt to reduce their living costs (i.e. shared accommodation, living in slums and commuting on foot). Therefore, the low value of social wages puts further pressure on Haitians and leads these workers to become even more vulnerable to super-exploitation in Brazil.

Over the last four decades, the Brazilian working class has taken part in public protests and riots against their inability to access basic public services. Land, health, housing, transportation, education, state violence and racial discrimination are among the focuses of these manifestations. The state, in turn, has often violently represented these voices rather than ensuring systemic changes. In the last two decades, the neoliberal citizenship model introduced by the Workers' Party promised to overcome the lack of social rights with social policies (i.e. family allowances) and micro credit so workers could afford social services (i.e. decent education, housing, transportation) otherwise not available to them (Braga, 2015; De Oliveira, 2006). However, despite the economic growth and social achievements in Brazil, this citizenship model has been insufficient to overcome the conditions of labour exploitation and further structural inequalities. Over time, the working class have not only protested against their increasingly peripheral condition in the model development, but also experienced

increased debt (Table 4.2). Protests have occurred in different parts of the country and has expressed the rising contradictions and the gradual collapse of Brazil's neo-development model (Avelar, 2017; Purdy; 2017; Sauer and Mészáros, 2017; Verga-Camus and Kay, 2017).

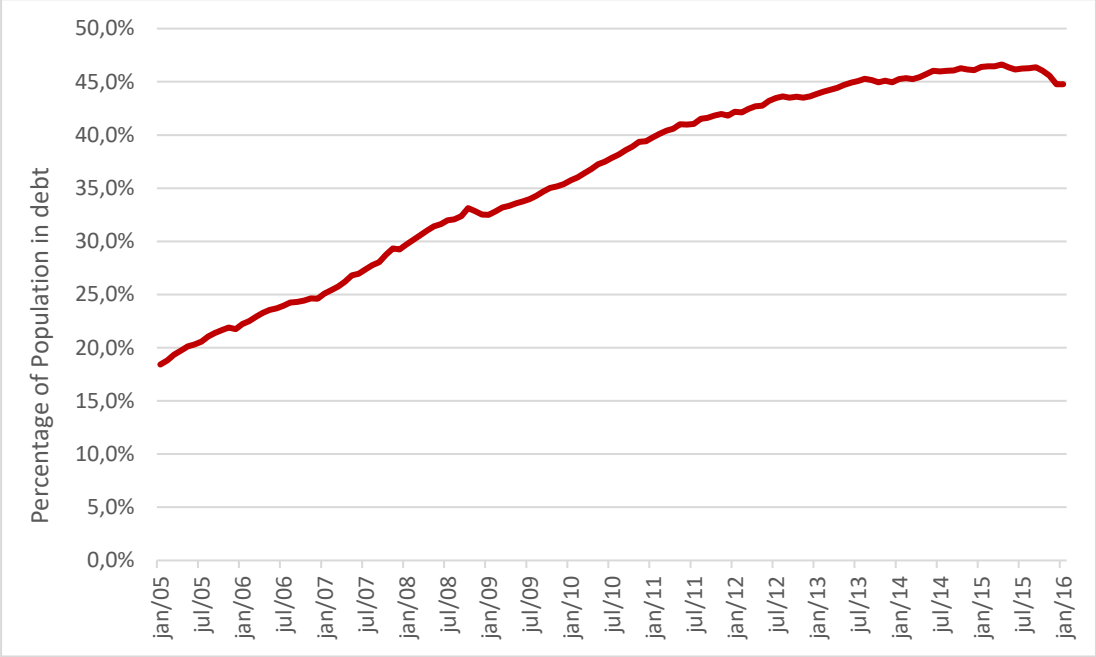


Figure 4.1: Household debt of the working class in Brazil during Workers' Party development model. This data includes mortgage debts and is adapted from (Banco Central, 2019).

In what follows, this section focuses on the specific form of peripheral inclusion which plagues Haitians in the Brazilian citizenship model. The lack of settlement policies and a solid welfare system to address the specific needs of these migrants aggravates these local dynamics, which are therefore inadequate conditions for the social reproduction of Haitians. One outcome is that Haitians have been spatially and culturally segregated and vulnerable in Brazil.

> When you invite someone to your house, you must prepare to receive this person. The same applies to the government. When you invite people, you must think: where I will put this person? This person will arrive without support. She has no one here. Who will receive her? How will she live? How is she going to work? Brazil did not prepare itself. People arrived here and got lost.
>
> Daniel Damas, 33 years old

The first component of this analysis is the lack of settlement policies. As Daniel Damas, indicates above, the lack of settlement policies has increased the vulnerability of Haitian workers upon arrival in Brazil. The experiences of Haitians rapidly switched from hope attached to the humanitarian visa and social protection to the reality of a humanitarian crisis in northern Brazil (Conectas, 2013). Haitians arrived in northern regions with very limited economic resources, abandoned in overcrowded shelters very similar to refugee camps where they lack basic infrastructure and the promised state support. In addition to the issue of visas, non-coordinated responses within state apparatuses were to stimulate the domestic migration of Haitians towards southern regions where Haitians could be incorporated into the local labour market. Whereas many of the lack of effective responses were initially softened by excuses such as the 'surprise' or the 'novelty' of this intense migration inflow, the progression of Haitian vulnerability over time indicates otherwise. It indicates the local patterns of subordination which are perceived in terms of spatial and sociocultural segregation.

One example is the lack of Portuguese language training and intercultural support. Although several Haitians are polyglots, they lacked prior knowledge of Portuguese upon arrival in Brazil. In particular, Haitian have been one of the most vulnerable community to this issue. The majority of other migrant communities previously have a solid network in Brazil and speak Spanish, which is similar to Portuguese language. While they were aware of this difficulty before arriving in Brazil, the lack of state support was unexpected. For Haitians, the notion of inclusive integration and solidarity implied access to language training and other public services. For Brazil, on the other hand, this has not been a national priority, which has created several economic and cultural challenges for many Haitians. Commonly, other social actors have taken advantage of this illiteracy and lack of knowledge of the local legislation to compel Haitians to sign employment and rental contracts in which they supposedly authorised abuses and violations against their rights (see in Chapter 5; Magalhães and Baeninger, 2016). The narrative of Stevenson Chaumeille depicts his marginalisation and frustration with the lack of state support:

> When I arrived here, I couldn't speak Portuguese. But I thought that the government was going to offer assistance to those who can't speak the language. To help them to integrate themselves. (…) Unfortunately, the government has done nothing. Many

> people who come here don't have family or friends and have difficulty communicating.
>
> Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old

The second crucial component for this analysis is housing. Traditionally, the 'price of progress' has constantly pushed away super-exploited workers from the most expensive regions to peripheral areas where they struggle against the lack of appropriate infrastructure (Kowarick, 1980; 1985). In the last two decades, the federal government has put strong emphasis on housing by creating programmes such as 'My Home, My Life' ('Minha Casa, Minha Vida') and by increasing access to credit and incentivising the acquisition of homes (see Naime, 2010). Despite the evident improvements, these measures have caused a boom in the housing sector and have been also followed by speculation in housing prices for both rent and purchase. As a result, new forms of spatial segregation and socio-vulnerabilities have affected the most vulnerable communities (Giovanini et al., 2016).

Haitians are no exception to this rule and housing is an extra form of wage expropriation. Rather, they have faced further segregation. Without any specific assistance from the state (i.e. the inexistence of social housing allocation for migrants) and a very few economic resources, Haitians have experienced several difficulties in obtaining and maintaining homes in Brazil. All interviewees have lived in rented residences, which has often increased pressure on their earnings. Mostly, they must live in remote areas so that they can afford rent prices and other related costs. Frequently, this means living on the outskirts or slums in the urban periphery. As previously, highlighted in the literature review, the formation of urban peripheries in Brazil emerges as one outcome of super-exploitation and elitist models for economic development in the country. Urban peripheries are marginal areas which materialise the extent to which the Brazilian regulation of citizenship fails to provide the local working class with direct and social wages for their most basic needs, creating a vicious circle which fundamentally contributes to super-exploitation. This longstanding deficit transformed the urban periphery into a dimension of social reproduction and class struggle for the most vulnerable workers in Brazil (De Oliveira, 2003; Santos, 1978; 2000). These areas also have higher rates of violence, crime and social marginalisation. Despite the recent social achievements in Brazil, the inclusion of

super-exploited workers has been fragile: the poorest communities remain unable to afford the *price* of social rights and living conditions (Kowarick, 1980; 2000).

The narrative of Andre Martineau highlights this situation, in which he describes how some Haitians, have, by necessity, lived in slums in Brazil, facing social issues and segregationist state practices:

> The Haitians that are arriving here in Campinas [a city in São Paulo state] aren't enjoying living in slums. Because they spent at least 6000 dollars to arrive here. (…) They had much better lives in Haiti than here living in a slum, where their lives will be questioned daily. If they buy a car the police will stop them to say that those are not their cars.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

In addition to low wages, the morphology of Haitian employment has affected housing. The precarious employment of Haitians has resulted in fluctuations in their pay, lack of payment and a unilateral change in payment conditions (further discussion in Chapter 5). These trends have consequently compromised the means which Haitians use to pay ordinary bills such as rent and utilities. Consequently, feelings of insecurity remain a permanent aspect of Haitian's domestic lives. The threat of evictions and the interruption of basic services due to lack of payment are ordinary examples. Moreover, penalties for late payment have put further pressures on the wages of these super-exploited workers. As Andre illustrates:

> Haitians are working one month, six months and are not getting paid as they should. They are living in a house and every month they must pay [the rent] for this house. If they don't pay on the 10$^{th}$, they will have to pay penalties. They [employers] are putting Haitians in a very difficult position. The landlords and the agency think Haitians aren't good tenants because of the delayed payment.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

Moreover, Haitians have experienced difficulties in signing leases due to their lack of language skills, stable employment, local references and a tenancy guarantor. As a result, in addition to landlords overpricing rents, the lack of state support has created serious constraints to rent a home. This has increased the dependency of Haitians on their employers, who may be the only guarantor option. Hence, housing

options have been limited by further structural conditions, which have also reduced the bargaining power of Haitians in the labour market. One example of this issue is the narrative of Jonassaint Fanor:

> It is hard to find a place to live. It is necessary that your boss signs the contract, to be your guarantor. It is hard to find someone that accepts the responsibility so we can have a place to live. There are few people that understand it and this is an issue at most of the houses we try to rent.
>
> Jonassaint Fanor, 34 years old

When successful, Haitians have found themselves living in flats or houses in outskirt areas. Frequently these are precarious homes, commonly known as *edículas*, which represent both the slavery heritage and the housing deficit in Brazil. These are small houses at the end of lots with a separated entry which were originally built for slave servants. Overtime, this also became a synonym of housing deficit and precarious living conditions in Brazil. The poorest communities have moved to these constructions in peripheral urban areas, so they could escape from renting prices and may also save money to build their homes (see De Oliveira, 2003). These are very small, with an average of three rooms (bedroom, living room/kitchen and bathroom). Moreover, some residences lack appropriate illumination and safety with eroded electrical wires and cracked walls. Despite these conditions, the insecurity and uncertainty have remained due to economic instability and low wages. For instance, the effect of economic inflation is also highlighted by Patrick Sicot, who has spent approximately 65% of his income on housing for himself and his family:

> This year I paid 1000 reais for rent in this house. Next year, I'll pay more but my wages will not increase! The salary remains the same, without change. There is no balance between the salary and the prices...
>
> Patrick Sicot, 37 years old

Unsurprisingly, several migrants have been homeless, depending on the support of NGOs or mostly on other Haitians in Brazil. Magdaline Alcine explains:

> We arrived here and then, that is it, we have to deal with it by ourselves. (...) So when we arrived here in Brazil there was a lack of housing and social services for Haitians...there were a lot

> of Haitians living in the streets, really a lot of people in the streets.
>
> Magdaline Alcine, 25 years old

Other studies have even shown that Haitians, like many other migrants, have joined improvised and irregular accommodation in abandoned buildings where they live in constant fear and are subjected to further violations and exploitation organised by state and non-state actors (Canofre, 2018; Zanchetta, 2014). Alternatively, those who have found homes have almost invariably shared them with other Haitians. The explanation refers to not only sharing the high costs of living but also, as we will see presently, to the need to send remittances to their extended families in Haiti (discussion in Chapter 6). In this sense, shared housing has mitigated their lack of money but, in turn, it means that the vast majority of Haitians have at some point, lived in overcrowded homes with an average of 5-15 residents in the same living space. As Jameson Thébaud explains:

> When I arrived, my friend offered accommodation. He lived in a flat. Four of us arrived together, but there were already two other people living there. I saw that 7 people could not live there. We could not continue to sleep one on top of the other (…). I have already lived with 27, 21, 23 Haitians in Brazil.
>
> Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old

The third key component is the relationship between spatial segregation and transportation. While moving to peripheral areas has reduced housing costs, it has also sharply increased the distances between Haitians and their workplace. Consequently, workers have spent a substantial amount of their rest time commuting between their homes and workplaces, a factor that, when considered a part of the working day, culminates in another key feature of super-exploitation. Frequently, commutes can take over an hour and a half per day under the sun with temperatures that can easily reach over 30 degrees.

As previously mentioned, the Brazilian government did invest in transportation as a key aspect of its infrastructure projects, but these investments privileged infrastructure for capital such as airports, harbours and highways to reduce circulation costs and accelerate the mobility of commodities, while workers remained peripheral to the local strategies for economic development. The outcome is that Haitians, such

as indigenous workers, have limited access to public transportation in these peripheral areas. This a major issue as their commutes can exceed 40 km per day. Those workers who have access to public transport struggle with the poor quality and the cost of the local transportation system – one of the most expensive in world (Magalhães, 2015) which in fact triggered unprecedented protests on a national level in 2013 and vividly illustrated the systemic crises of the local development model (Avelar, 2017).

Many Haitians have to walk and, most frequently, use bicycles. In addition to the time consumed, this puts an increased physical and mental burden on Haitian workers. Finally, employers often have not provided transportation vouchers to these workers as legally established under Brazilian legislation, which has been caused by unilateral violations or informal arrangements with workers (see Chapter 5). Informal discussion with Haitians also indicates that a few Haitians do receive them but the majority of those who have received transportation vouchers have also sold them on the informal market so they can mitigate the gap between their living costs and wages. The narrative of Toussaint Duprés summarises the challenges of transportation, housing and their precarious working conditions:

> Here we need to at least have a bike. Today, I have a new bike. It is very hard to have two jobs without a bike because you get out of one and go to another one. There is no time, you might arrive late. We could have a better life with motorcycles, but we can't afford them. Today, you need at least 200 reais per month to buy it and you must pay immediately. But we can't even afford to live by ourselves! We need to share a house with others so we can share our bills.
>
> Toussaint Duprés, 28 years old

Another example of the problematical issue of spatial segregation and transportation is found in the narrative of Jameson Thébaud. His economic situation has been better than other Haitians as he was able to buy a car by selling possessions he had in Haiti. However, this improvement in transportation has not prevented him from facing similar issues due to the reparation between the places of employment and of social reproduction.

> For instance, I get out of one job at 5h in the morning. I must open the store in the other one at 6h. I lie down in my car until

> people arrive. For example, I did it this way on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. (...) Sometimes I left home on Thursday and only returned on Sunday because I did not have the means to return home. I got out of one job and entered another one. I've spent two years this way.
>
> Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old

In this sense, narratives of both Toussaint and Jameson above indicate the intersection between Haitians' agency and transportation as well as employment in Brazil. To assure their social reproduction, many Haitians have maintained two jobs and have subsequently faced working up to 16 hours per day. However, these efforts have been insufficient to cope with the precarious living conditions in Brazil. The long distances between workplaces and homes, and inadequate transportation have generated further fatigue, preventing them from doing anything other than work. Therefore, Haitians have been deprived of having time for leisure, rest, family and friends, adequate sleeping hours and to develop personal plans or ambitions.

The final key component for this analysis is the access to the health care system. Inevitably, the precarious living conditions of Haitians have been associated with high illness rates. These elements, combined with the psychological and physical pressures super-exploited Haitians suffer at work, result in extreme fatigue on the verge of exhaustion (further discussion in Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the restricted access to public health service has worsened this situation. Haitian narratives indicate several problems in this context. These range from language issues, in which the lack of language support prevents basic communication and assistance, to broader problems associated with their legal and livings conditions in Brazil. The first example is the narrative of Dieter Damour, who saved the lives of a pregnant woman and her child due to his language skills. Fluent in Portuguese, he received an emergency call from the hospital:

> There was one Haitian pregnant. She was close to giving birth and was experiencing difficulties in the hospital. She didn't know what to do. She was already at a stage of depression. She was in pain, but she couldn't express it. (...) I was told that if I didn't go to the hospital very quickly, she and her children were going to die. Immediately, I took a taxi and went there.
>
> Dieter Damour, 32 years old

Another example comes from Michel Lapres, in which he describes how migration status and vulnerable living conditions restrained access to the public health service. To access *Brazil's Unified Health System* (SUS), Haitians have been required to provide proof of residency and regular migration status. Nevertheless, as previously shown, the migratory and housing conditions in Brazil frequently prevent Haitians from having these documents. The outcome is that many have struggled to receive medical attention in Brazil or experience further complications to do so, which may aggravate their vulnerable health conditions. As Michel Lapres explains:

> There are Haitians who are ill and seek medical attention in public centres, but it is denied because they don't have the registration card and proof of address. So they must leave without treatment because they don't have these documents.
>
> Michel Lapres, 39 years old

This section has shown how a deficit in social wages and spatial segregation shape the super-exploitation of Haitians. The lack of settlement policies and of adequate infrastructural services (i.e. housing, transportation, and healthcare) have rendered Haitians extremely vulnerable in Brazil. While the cost of living has increased, Haitians have exclusively relied on their direct wage rates of super-exploited workers. The next section of this chapter will show how legal constraints have perpetuated this situation by restricting the upward social mobility of Haitians in the local labour market.

## 4.4 Citizenship and peripheral social mobility

This section explores how legal restrictions have constrained the upward social mobility of Haitians by hindering their access to the existing indirect wages in Brazil. The following shows how specific policies and institutional arrangements have shaped a *peripheral inclusion*, a politically subordinated one. This is a situation in which the rights of Haitians are undermined by different regulations which are in place and posits these workers at the bottom of the labour market. Examples illustrate that Haitians

face restrictions in relation to political participation, devaluation of professional and educational skills as well their limited access to public education. Although the humanitarian visa should provide full integration into citizenship, these subjacent regulations have been used to push Haitians outside the scope of the very few social rights the state effectively provides for the local population. The outcome is that Haitians have predominantly only had access only to undesirable jobs and as a result, have limited alternatives in their struggle for their social reproduction. This contributes to vertical social immobility and the subordination of Haitians to the most super-exploitive employment conditions in Brazil.

The first central element is the Brazilian Foreigner Statute (Brasil, 1980) – act No. 6815/80 –, which is an example of an old form of political subordination of migrants. While the humanitarian visa has authorised the entry of Haitians into Brazil, the Foreigner Statute is the foundation of a very restrictive immigration law. In recent decades, Brazil has regulated the entry of several immigrants by maintaining this legislation as the main regulatory mechanism of migration. This outdated statute came to force during the military dictatorship and focused on national security. At the time, this was intended to control the rise of class conflicts and communist ideas from abroad. As such, the Foreigner Statute has imposed several restrictions on immigrants, by excluding them from employment in public services and political rights. Although there have been many explanations over time behind for why this legislation has remained influential, the fact is that it fits the purpose of disciplining migrant works who are at the boom of the local labour market. For instance, immigrants are not entitled to democratic suffrage and participation in any other acts of a political nature: 'the foreigner admitted in the national territory cannot exercise political activity, nor participate in parades, protests, rallies and meetings of any nature in Brazil, subjecting the offender to imprisonment from one (1) to three (3) years and expulsion from the country', Law 6,815/80. Thus, immigrants are denied rights such as striking, unionising and protesting – although some Haitians do so irregularly as will be seen in Chapter 5. In other words, there are asymmetrical power relations within the working class in this context. This is because foreign workers lack access to social services and dignified working conditions – which is similar to what occurs with local workers –, but international migrants have been forbidden to struggle alongside the rest of the working class to attain these benefits.

These restrictions have not only shaped workplace dynamics but also the employment opportunities for Haitians. The interdiction of the employment of foreigners in the public sector is one key example. This situation was aggravated during Brazil's development, because the state was (and continues to be) one of main employers in Brazil. Conceptually, this restriction matters because the labour market mobility of Haitians is compromised and restricted to undesired jobs in which workers are more likely to face super-exploitation. The narrative of Andre Martineau illustrates the frustration of Haitians:

> It isn't fair this thing that Brazil can't hire foreigners, that it can't offer jobs to foreigners. In Canada, the majority of nurses are Haitians, Africans, – foreigners. Why has Canada managed to put them to work? The population needs health treatment. They [Haitians] have the capacity, put them to work in the right function.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

The following points on the theme of peripheral social mobility relate to higher public education. Although all citizens and migrants are entitled to free education in public universities, these institutions still reflect, and reinforce, structural inequalities in Brazil. The indicator of racial inequality in Brazil is also relevant in this context of higher education, as it emphasises the point at which point the lack of upward social mobility relates to the reproduction of super-exploitation. For instance, only 30% of black Brazilians between 18 and 24 years old are students in Brazilian universities despite the fact that they account for approximately 55 % of the total population of the country (IBGE, 2016b). Over the last two decades, the number of black students has significantly increased due to social policies such as university racial quotas and FIES (private-public funding). However, universities remain inaccessible to those who have had access to poor education and cannot afford loans. For Haitians, the role higher education plays in shaping their peripheral social mobility is expanded.

In this context, the second element regarding the peripheral social mobility of Haitians is the devaluation of their credentials and professional qualifications. Although the majority of Haitians in Brazil have not received higher education (OBMigra, 2016), no participants with university degrees or college diplomas have worked in their areas of expertise in Brazil. The devaluation rate of their work in relation to their formal professional skills is the highest in the whole country. In Brazil, 15.4%

of foreigners do not occupy positions according to their professional qualifications. Nevertheless, this number increases to 96.4% when referring to Haitians exclusively (Ruediger, 2015).

An explanation for this issue is of the lack of a national policy for the integration of these skilled workers. As a result, Haitians have depended on Brazilian universities to validate these qualifications (Brasil, 1996). This process can take over a year, is very expensive, costing up a few months of their salaries, and offers little chance of success. Unable to validate these qualifications, Haitians have filled positions in non-skilled jobs. As Daniel Damas explains:

> Many Haitians who are living in Brazil are prepared, with a degree, with a profession. They could be working in Haiti, but they are in Brazil. But Brazil is not helping them at all. These Haitians have a profession and a lot of skills, but the country doesn't open positions for them. As far as I know, no Haitian has managed to get work in their area [of expertise] so far.
>
> Daniel Damas, 33 years old

Another perspective is a specific rationale for Haitian migration and the progress in the labour market. The lack of a national programme for inclusion in the higher educational system has trapped workers at the bottom of the labour market, undermined their employer outcomes, but, nonetheless, served a local demand for cheap labour from expanding sectors in Brazil. This is the story of Michel Lapres, who holds two university degrees and is fluent in six languages. In 2012, the Brazilian state's call for Haitian workers motivated him to leave the Dominican Republic and emigrate to Brazil, where he expected to work as a foreign language teacher. Although these competencies could be transferable to this new country, his skills have not been validated by the state. In this climate, he has only found work in the civil construction sector. As he describes:

> In Haiti, there was an advertisement saying that Brazil was good, a welcoming country, where teachers could continue to work as teachers, doctors as doctors…there were many jobs in Brazil. So I came to work in here. Since I arrived in Brazil, here in São Paulo, unfortunately, I have worked in the civil construction industry as mason's assistant.
>
> Anyone who studies does so to change his life and salary. To have a dignified job and because he likes it. But in Brazil, I tried

> to validate my diplomas, but they were not accepted. The Brazilian government doesn't accept them. I don't know what the diplomatic reason is for refusing diplomas from Haiti (…) I studied, but it's like I didn't. I'm like someone who knows nothing, an illiterate, even though I have two university degrees.
>
> Michel Lapres, 39 years old

This experience resonates with the narrative of Andre Martineau, 37 years old, who is fluent in four languages. A polyglot, holding two university degrees, he was a renowned tv director, video clip producer and broadcast his own radio show in Haiti. His qualifications have not been validated in Brazil, which has dragged him into the lowest positions in the labour market:

> The receptionist many times, during lunch time, wanted to ask me how to say something (in foreign language). But why couldn't I also be working at the reception as a receptionist if I could help? Why did they throw me in the kitchen? To clean pans, a lot of them.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

The third element which illustrates this peripheral inclusion is the access to high public education. Not only has the state devalued the skills Haitians previously acquired, but it has also constrained their upward social mobility by regulating their access to the local public education system. Since Haitians cannot afford university fees in the private sector, they are unable to study at university. The narratives of Haitians show that higher education played a vital role in their decision to emigrate to Brazil. For Haitians, mostly young migrants from 20 to 30 years old with a middle-class background, education has represented broader opportunities for upward social mobility in Brazil. However, as Evens Sainteus, 36 years old, explains, the only access Haitians have had to public education in Brazil is through 'assistance programmes that do not provide real changes and are the kind of projects Haitians are very used to and tired of in Haiti'. This firm statement resonates with the following narratives of Haitians about education in Brazil.

On one hand, Brazil has no unified programme to incorporate these workers into public universities. Although the state rhetoric of humanitarian protection suggested otherwise, these workers had no support to access this education system. Haitian migrants arriving in Brazil and searching for educational opportunities, the

initial response of universities was to neither validate Haitian diplomas nor their previous education records, because there is no public policy in place for these workers. This also refer to that fact that most of Brazilian universities do not have bilateral agreements with Haitian educational institutions, undermining the validation of these documents. As such, the vast majority of Haitians have been unable to continue their studies in Brazil, which has frustrated them and shaped their employment experiences. One example is the story of Peterson Hilas, who left his life in the Dominican Republic to emigrate. In Brazil, he intended to work and conclude his degree in civil engineering. However, his education record has not been validated:

> I came here and I brought all my documents. I thought I could study here, but I can't (...). I wanted to leave here with a profession. Since I was studying in the Dominican Republic, I was expecting to leave here with a degree in civil engineering. When I arrived here, with all of my documents, I was told I couldn't pursue my studies. Then my world fell apart.
>
> Peterson Hilas, 39 years old

On the other hand, Haitians have not faced similar restrictions to access educational programmes which lead to precarious work. One example is told by Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old, and Evens Sainteusin, relation to the access to Pronatec courses (National Program for Access to Technical Courses and Employment). Pronatec is a publicly funded educational programme which has been advertised as one of the main actions of the national government to tackle the problem of unequal access to education and structural unemployment in Brazil. In this sense, it embodies the rhetoric that there is no structural problem in the job market but a lack of qualified workers (Bertollo, 2016). In reality, however, the programme has trained workers with technical skills for positions at the bottom of the local labour market where these workers continue to be super-exploited and subjected to flexible employment arrangements such as temporary and outsourced jobs. Many of those jobs are directly related to infrastructure projects of the aforementioned PAC – National Acceleration Growth (Bertollo, 2016; Martins, 2015) which are key for Brazil's neo-development model. Neither Philiphe nor Evens have managed to find a steady job with their qualifications, so they have been pushed to jobs which are unrelated to their previous qualifications but can provide better wages.

Another element that reinforces this argument is the access to private education. While they have been denied the access to public education, this has not been experienced in private education sector. This bottom-up process is nevertheless, the access to higher education occurs in the form of a commodity for consumption rather than a social right. The access to such services then relies on their economic resources, which are, in turn, greatly related to their employment in this context. As Yves Fayette explains:

> It is easier for a Haitian to become the Brazilian president than to study here. This creates a tension. I see young Haitians in need, who are very interested in and do the whole process to study, but they are unable to study here. When I say to study, I mean to study at public universities. Because at private universities you need just one thing, you just need to pay. This is what happens. A person can't pay so she loses the opportunity to study. Haitians here will always be undermined because those who study here will receive the best employment, the best jobs.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

Consequently, once again Haitians are imprisoned in the contradictions of Brazil's citizenship model and more vulnerable to super-exploitation at the bottom of the labour market. The social mobility of Haitians has been compromised, since their economic conditions prevent them accessing education through the private sector, and legislation denies them public access. One final example on this point is offered by Patrick Sicot. He holds a university degree in information systems, but he has worked as a machine operator in Brazil. Despite his 60-hour working week, Patrick can barely provide for his family. For him, the means to change this life is through education. However, he is unable to afford the costs of private education institutions, whose monthly fees are even higher than his own monthly wages:

> It is a problem to change that [his living conditions] (...) I would like to do a course, but how can I pay? Courses are very expensive. I went to a college to ask about the conditions to do a course. They told I would have to pay 4000 reais. But dear, how can I pay 4000 reais? I have my rent to pay. I cannot miss a day of work. I have bills to pay. The internet to pay. I must eat. I must help my family.
>
> Patrick Sicot, 37 years old

## 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the state regulation of citizenship has contributed to the super-exploitation of Haitians. It aimed to expand upon a conventional understand of super-exploitation and move the focus beyond workplace dynamics, while also highlighting the insufficiency of a northern centric framework on migrant literature to theorize the citizenship-employment nexus in a peripheral country such as Brazil. Findings have shown that citizenship regulates wages which are insufficient for the social reproduction of Haitian workers. The result is a great dependence by Haitians on supplementary social arrangements to survive, which are closely related to the subordination of Haitians to super-exploitive employment conditions and constant reliance on network support from migrants around them.

Low direct and indirect wages in Brazil distinguish the country's citizenship model from the rationale which structures Mark's notion of wages and the notions based on welfare systems in the broad literature on migration. Although Brazil's socio-economic achievements have improved local citizenship in the last decade, they have been insufficient to overcome the inherent contradictions of Brazil's development model whose structure is heavily reliant on historical patterns of super-exploitation. The gap between the minimum wage and the living wage as well as the lack of social rights illustrate the nature of this citizenship model. The indicators of racial inequality at different levels contributed to exemplify the historical reproduction of this model and specific struggles within the working class, which have mostly sustained rather than reduced patterns of social hierarchy and of super-exploitation in Brazil since the time of slavery times. Because of this historical pattern of capital-labour relations, the centrality of super-exploitation is then positioned within a different form of reproduction of capitalism in the periphery. The difference in the so-called neo-development model is that this recent fragile attempt to conciliate class struggle. Although workers are formally included in this system, it is through a consumption led-model of citizenship that vulnerable communities such as Haitians cannot afford or be structurally empowered, leading to geographical, sectoral, and public service marginalisation,

meaning workers are often more dependent on employment dynamics to ensure their social reproduction.

For Haitians, this citizenship model has assumed a specific pattern of control and has shaped further reliance on super-exploitative employment conditions. These workers lack proper settlement policies and arrive in Brazil already politically and economically subordinated. The lack of integration policies and insufficient social wages on multiple levels placed Haitians at the bottom of the labour market, pushing them to greater extremes of social inequality and employment dynamics in their struggle for their social reproduction in Brazil. For instance, they sell their transport vouchers, accept informal housing, share their homes, and live in the urban periphery. While these strategies allow Haitians to survive and support their families, they also shape an arduous form of social reproduction that facilitates their subordination to their employers, creating a vicious cycle that exposes repeatedly Haitians to super-exploitation. In this sense, the conventional conceptualisation of super-exploitation is useful for understanding the relationship between patterns of social reproduction and citizenship regulation in a peripheral country such as Brazil, but it is also under-developed. This is because previous studies under-analysed the set of social relations which allows capital to push the wages of super-exploited workers below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. The result is a need for a broader understanding of sub-levels of citizenship regulation which have reduced Haitians, alongside the vast majority of the working class in Brazil to their ‘productive function’ as super-exploited labour rather than dignified citizens. However, this pattern of citizenship control is but one dimension which shapes the super-exploitation of Haitians. The further implications of this segmentation on the struggle of Haitians for their social reproduction will be explored in the following chapters.

# 5. The flexibility trap and the super-exploitation of Haitians in the workplace.

## 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed how Haitians' access to citizenship relates to their super-exploitation in Brazil. The lack of integration policies has exacerbated the negative effects of already low wages and insufficient social services in constraining the social reproduction of Haitians. This means that while several Haitians have jobs, their wages and working conditions are insufficient for purchasing basic goods and ensuring satisfactory living conditions. The peripheral access Haitians have to the Brazilian citizenship model has shaped social hierarchies in which the economic vulnerability of Haitians is expanded by forms of legal and spatial segregation on the domestic level. The outcome is that further areas of the social lives of Haitians in Brazil are commodified and thus their survival is deeply dependent on the selling of migrants' labour power in the most precarious conditions. However, the regulation of citizenship is only one dimension of the Haitian struggle for social reproduction which relates to their super-exploitation. In this chapter, the super-exploitation of Haitians at work is explored. Although the overall modalities of super-exploitation have been widely explored elsewhere in the literature, the way super-exploitation is operationalised in the workplace remains abstract and focuses on the perspective of capital. The problem is that super-exploitation primarily depends on the subordination of workers in order to exist. The focus on the perspective of workers is important because it indicates patterns of subordination in the workplace which allow employers to drive the wages of workers below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. Moreover, the narratives of Haitians offer a deeper understanding of how the evolving forms of super-exploitation relate to the specific conditions of foreign labour and the emergence of flexible labour arrangements in Brazil. Therefore, this chapter argues that super-exploitation must be reconceptualised in relation to migration governance and changing employment in Brazil's development model. This chapter addresses research question two:

R2 How does the super-exploitation of Haitian workers relate to the changing nature of employment and employer strategies in Brazil's new development model?

As highlighted in the literature review, Marini (1977) defines three distinct modalities of super-exploitation: the intensification and extensification of the working day, the expropriation of worker's consumption fund as an extra source of capital accumulation. These modalities are examples of super-exploitation because they aim to extract extra value from workers who thus receive payment below the value of their labour and their social reproduction is compromised. Over the last three decades, Marini and other scholars have explained how super-exploitation has been globalised. The increasing integration of peripheral countries into the global market have not only aggravated the conditions of super-exploitation in peripheral countries but also introduced it to developed countries (Marini, 1996; 2008; Smith, 2016; Valencia, 2015, 2017). This is because a shift in production has increased the competitiveness of peripheral countries amongst each other and made them more dependent on developed nations, ultimately shaping the need for super-exploitative practices in the workplace rather than improving employment conditions. This global order elevates the capacity of capital to maximize profit on a global level while generating further poverty and exploitation.

Meanwhile, other scholars have explored the increasing role these forms of super-exploitation play in Brazilian workplaces. This scenario has been linked to domestic labour reforms, higher competition and foremost Brazil's development strategy to increase its participation and economic profits in the global market. Brazil has increased its reliance on commodity exports and state investment in infrastructure, while experiencing striking levels of deindustrialisation – approximately 10% during the 16 years of the so-called neo-development model (Pochmann, 2012). The consequences for employment relations are that job opportunities in the local labour market are predominantly concentrated in labour intensive sectors such as civil construction and agribusiness. These are sectors which have persistently extracted value from workers based on innovative forms of super-exploitation rather than on technological innovation in Brazil (Antunes, 2014; Braga, 2015; Barros and Mendes, 2003; Druck and Borges, 2002; Garvey and Barreto, 2016; Thomaz Jr., 2000).

These important contributions have not only highlighted the current prevalence of super-exploitation, but also linked it to the increasingly flexible regulation in the labour market. Research has pointed to new legal mechanisms which allow employers to incorporate super-exploitative practices into the workplace. This transformation has shaped a new intersection between formal and informal employment (Antunes, 2014; Barros and Mendes, 2003), which has served to undermine the importance of regular indicators such as those which point to the reduction of informal employment by 10% during Brazil's development model (2002-2016). Despite the critical importance of these contributions, the literature has under-analysed the new opportunities that the use of foreign labour, co-existing alongside new forms of employment and control, has offered for the advancement of super-exploitation in different stages of the employment relationship.

Previous studies on labour migration have shown the increasing role employer strategies play in the exploitation of foreign workers. This tendency emerges as an outcome of neoliberal attacks on the regulation of employment and worker's rights. Several employers, foremost in labour-intensive sectors, have targeted migrant workers due to the vulnerable social and legal conditions of these workers, which constrains their labour power and subordinates them to employers' interests (Anderson, 2010; MacKenzie and Forde 2009; McGovern, 2012). One reason for recruiting migrants relates to their migratory status. International workers are often tied to formal labour intermediaries (i.e. recruitment agencies or smaller outsourced companies) or sectors, which expands the chain of exploitation and the extent to which migrants are unprotect in the employment relationship (Anderson, 2010; Ruhs and Anderson, 2006; Findlay et al., 2013; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008). Within these chains, the recruitment strategies of employers have created new forms of segmentation (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003) which have not only reduced workers' bargaining power but have also facilitated the incorporation of informal employment arrangements into workplace dynamics. For instance, employers are often driven by their stereotypes and racialized notions of labour to recruit migrants (Bloch, 2013; Jackson and Bauder, 2013; Wills et al., 2009). One outcome is that, although still dependent on a range of wider structural elements, the strategies of migrants and their networks become the main source of support when

these workers encounter precarious employment in the receiving labour market (Alberti, 2014).

While these contributions resonate strongly with how Haitian workers experience super-exploitation in Brazil, some structural aspects of their experiences in local labour markets require further theorization. These trends in the employment of migrant workers are aggravated in peripheral countries such as Brazil because the actions of informal actors and the strategies of employers operate beyond the recent deregulation of employment (Biles, 2009), but it does reflect the longstanding organisation of labour markets and their historical patterns of labour exploitation (Smith and Pun, 2018; Xiang, 2013). In Brazil, this organisation is seen in the emergence of buffer zones which become a geographic metaphor to illustrate the social stratification of Haitians due to how their multidimensional struggles overlap (i.e. citizenship, community and occupational struggle) in the Brazilian context. The buffers constitute a social cordon around Haitians which limits their sphere of actions and circulation in the labour market. While buffer zones differentiate the situation Haitians from the rest of the local working class, they also provide a safe net for employers and their contemporary strategies for super-exploitation, rendering workers confined, disposable and thus dependent on this form of employment. This type of conceptual zone has historical and contextual grounds because, while assuming specific forms in the super-exploitation of Haitians, it also shows the limits the social condition of the working class (i.e. lack of social protection and vulnerable working conditions) in Brazil impose on the possibilities to escape super-exploitation.

Building on these contributions, this chapter discusses how the strategies of employers have shaped the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in the agribusiness and civil construction sectors – named seasonal sectors. Findings show that the emerging flexible employment arrangements have empowered employers to deploy their strategies, both formal and informal, to ensure Haitian subordination to super-exploitation in the workplace. These flexible relations are enmeshed in different stages of the employment relationship, involving the participation of other social actors, making super-exploitation most likely to occur. The struggle of Haitian workers for their social reproduction, in turn, allowed for a singular pattern of subordination inside and outside the workplace – materialised in Brazil by emerging buffer zones – which further empower employers. Altogether, the complexity of these structural and regulatory

trends provides a unique entanglement between productive and reproductive dynamics which form the super-exploitation of Haitian workers. Each of the following sections will highlight these new boundaries in the formation of super-exploitation in the 21st century. Although different modalities of super-exploitation intersect on a regular basis, this section separates them to highlight how workers experience them in terms of workplace dynamics.

Firstly, this chapter explains the intersection between Haitian super-exploitation and the recruitment strategies of employers in agribusiness and civil construction companies. While previously under-analysed in the literature, findings point to the increasing importance of recruitment practices for super-exploitation in the 21st century. Employers have drawn on areas, referred to as buffer zones, to access a large supply of Haitian labour in extremely vulnerable and unprotected conditions to maintain, or even expand, super-exploitation in the workplace. To do so, employers have used informal labour intermediaries which, with the rise of the humanitarian crisis in Brazil and flexible employment arrangements, have not only supported Haitians, but have also facilitated the path of Haitians to super-exploitation. Haitians, in turn, remain concentrated in these areas as their peripheral inclusion in Brazilian society transforms buffer zones into their best chance to survive and find a job.

Secondly, this section shows how employers have used flexible employment arrangements in the workplace to reduce the wages of Haitians and to increase their dependence on overtime hours. This makes a combination of different modalities of super-exploitation, allowing employers to match their production needs in seasonal sectors. Wage manipulation and wage defaulting are, for instance, used for this purpose. Not only do these strategies relate to flexible employment arrangements which have empowered employers, but also to the broader struggle of Haitians at the recruitment stage and beyond employment. In this context, the experiences of Haitians show different degrees of resilience to ensure their social reproduction.

Thirdly, this section discusses how Haitians experience labour intensification in Brazil. This modality of super-exploitation has included the use against Haitians of discriminatory rhetoric, permanent surveillance and the violation of Haitian labour rights, such as appropriate rest time and statutory sick pay. In particular, employer strategies intersect with forms racial discrimination to force labour intensification and to subordinate these workers. Although Haitians show reluctance to match these

specific demands for subordination, their responses are limited by the lack of job security and precarious living conditions.

The chapter concludes by reaffirming that the super-exploitation of Haitians at work relates to their peripheral inclusion in Brazil and the morphology of their employment in Brazil's development model. The flexible employment of Haitians in seasonal sectors subjects them to asymmetrical power relations which facilitates a wide range of strategies to super-exploit these workers. These are formal and informal strategies which are intrinsically related to Brazil's development model and the peripheral conditions of Haitians in Brazilian society. Therefore, both the state and employers have played a central role in shaping the current pattern of super-exploitation. The experiences of Haitians reveal new degrees of dependence of these workers on their employers as well as challenges for their social reproduction in Brazil.

## 5.2 The recruitment of Haitians in emerging buffer zones

This section discusses how the super-exploitation of Haitians relates to the recruitment strategies of their employers. It addresses a trend that has become a central strategy in Haitian super-exploitation: the recruitment of Haitians in buffer zones – areas where the Haitian population are confined by their multidimensional struggle. The buffer offers theoretical and geographical visibility to these social boundaries around Haitians which become absolute in producing a passage for Haitians towards super-exploitation in the workplace. These areas represent an opportunity for employers, as well as other emergent labour intermediaries, to include this large supply of Haitian labour into super-exploitative employment relationships. The section draws on zones created around three very different informal labour intermediaries: a charity institution, a trade union and a Haitian network. The following paragraphs explain the formation of these buffer zones and show how these channels are embedded in Haitians' employment outcomes. Therefore, an understanding of how Haitians experience these spatial tactics of recruitment is the first step for the conceptualisation of modern super-exploitation in the workplace.

As previously highlighted in the literature review, Marini (1978) shows that a large supply of labour alongside the dependence on external markers are two essential elements for the existence of super-exploitation in peripheral countries. In particular, a large supply of labour allows employers to super-exploit their workforce because the social reproduction of these workers is unnecessary. Employers can maintain difficult working conditions at work, recruiting replacements once previously super-exploited workers are no longer suitable for their jobs. Hence, by analysing the expendability of super-exploited workers, Marini (1973; 1978) develops an innovative argument of how Marx's (2011) notion of reserve army should be understood in peripheral countries.

While the expendability of workers must be recognized, the focus on this general aspect is insufficient to explain the recruitment of super-exploited labour in labour intensive sectors during Brazil's development model (2002-2016). The recruitment strategies of employers is a topic that remains largely underdeveloped in the literature, which has focused on the legal status of employer relationships – i.e. outsourcing as well as formal and informal work (Alves, 2016; Antunes, 2014; Barros and Mendes, 2003). It is argued here that the emergence of flexible employment arrangements has increased the role played by recruitment in subordinating workers to super-exploitation. This section shows a continuum of formal and informal practices of recruitment which emerged in the aftermath of the humanitarian crisis concerning Haitians in Brazil.

Buffer zones have become a large-scale source of labour supply to companies in the Brazilian construction and agribusiness sectors. The civil construction sector has the highest rate of employee turnover with an 87,4% turnover rate in Brazil, followed by agricultural sector with a 65,9% turnover rate (DIEESE, 2018). This demand features an ongoing recruitment need for a large contingent of temporary workers to cope with the high turnover rates, flexibility, and labour intensity in a myriad of sites of production – which can be very challenging in a country with continental territorial dimensions such as Brazil where workers are geographically dispersed across its broad territory.

In this sense, these sectors require standardised (relatively low skilled) employment practices, the recruitment of a workforce which satisfies not only

economic conditions, but also geographical ones to easily incorporate workers into new production cycles and multiple workplaces.

Traditionally, civil construction and agribusiness companies have resorted to domestic male migrant workers to fill these jobs. However, this becomes increasingly difficult as these labour-intensive sectors have expanded while Brazil has experienced the lowest unemployment rate in its history. Unsurprisingly, the major employers of Haitian labour in Brazil are in these labour-intensive sectors. As a result, interviews indicated that participants rarely experienced a period of over ten months in the same job in Brazil. Although the nature of job function and the major employers have usually been the same, the high turnover rate and switching jobs in between labour contractors have occurred on an ongoing basis, which depicts a broader picture of Haitian employment in Brazil (see Figure 5.1 below). This resonates with other findings that indicate the illegal use these companies have made of the probationary period of three months to fire Haitians so that these employers can reduce costs associated with the social rights of workers such as redundancies and increased social security payments (Magalhães and Baeninger, 2016). Moreover, these trends have parallels with the high turnover rates of Haitians in the labour market in 2015:

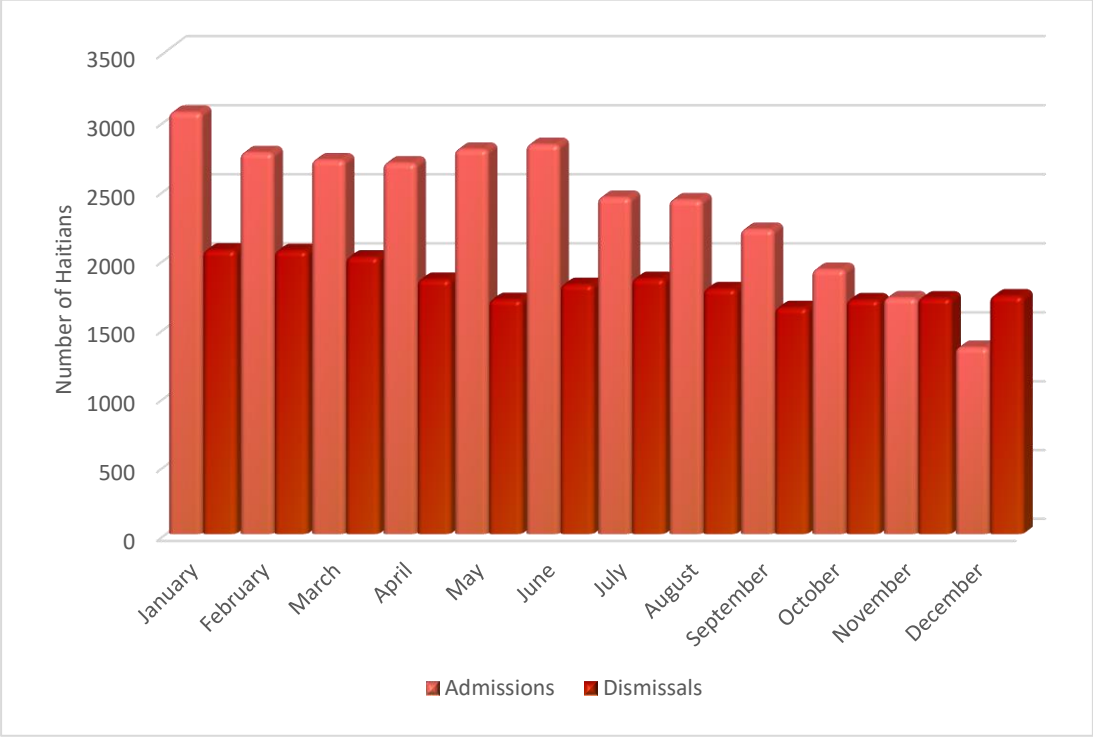


Figure 5.1: Participation rate of Haitians in the labour market in 2015 adapted from (OBMigra, 2016).

The recruitment of Haitians embodies not only the historical patterns of super-exploitation in Brazil, but also the key aspects of this migration regime. This is because subordination to super-exploitation occurs at premature stages when Haitians have recently arrived in Brazil and are struggling for basic living conditions such as food, housing or are still unaware of local regulation and labour market standards. As the conditions of employment and the Brazilian state fail to provide Haitians with a means to ensure these above-mentioned social challenges, these workers are incorporated into a vicious circle of super-exploitation. Haitians have regularly returned to these areas once made redundant to seek new job opportunities to survive

The following paragraphs illustrate three non-state actors which participate informally in the recruitment of Haitian workers for seasonal sectors: a charity institution, a trade union and migrant networks. Together, they provide employers with workers in a vulnerable situation. They also trace back to the state and the role it plays in shaping the peripheral inclusion of Haitians in Brazil.

The employers of Haitians have relied on informal social arrangements such as informal networks and religious institutions to recruit workers. These practices started in the context of the humanitarian migration crisis and in the absence of state support. As previously shown, the first waves of Haitian migration shaped a humanitarian crisis in the state of Acre, north-western Brazil. Following difficult migratory journeys (see Chapter 6) Haitians were living in improvised, unhealthy and overcrowded shelters while waiting for humanitarian visas. The lack of an effective state responses to address this crisis and the demand for labour transformed it into the first buffer zone for employers (see Chapter 4). In the long run, this has become a tendency in which similar conditions have shaped the emergence of several buffer zones in Brazil. In this sense, buffer zones are formed in areas around social actors which informally intermediate the relationship between Haitians and employers.


Illustration 5.1: The location of Buffer Zones in Brazil.

While in principle labour intermediaries in buffer areas may create a gateway for Haitian employment, the role of these social actors is subject to their own interests and structural limitations – i.e. local legislation and economic resources. These features have been prolific in the reproduction of unequal power relations between Haitians and employers, facilitating new forms of Haitian subordination to super-exploitation prior to their workplace experience as will be shown in the following sections. As such these intermediaries have predominantly organised areas of recruitment which reflect how Haitian workers are not free in the Brazilian labour market but swamped in these buffer zones and the most precarious jobs.

Initially, the vigorous demand for Haitian labour made several employers and companies travel distances of over 3000 kilometres (Da Silva, 2013; Mamed and De Lima, 2015) to recruit Haitians. The initial narratives of employers emphasized their compliance with humanitarism towards Haitians, their intention to help Haitians and the willingness of these migrant workers to work hard, which often serves to contrast their attitudes to those of Brazilian workers (Oualalou, 2014; Komosinski and Jordany, 2016). Reports indicate that each company would hire up to 100 workers at a time (O estrangeiro, 2014; Chagas, 2012; Guimarães, 2012). Occasionally, employer practices were similar to the recruitment of slaves in colonial Brazil, reproducing their racialised and gendered expectations for workers in seasonal sectors: male Haitian workers were selected in publicly humiliating ways, such as the examination of body characteristics to approve their aptitude to work in unknown locations in southern regions (Fulgêncio, 2015; Wroblesk, 2014; Sanches, 2014). This gendered pattern of recruitment also influenced the composition of Haitian migration itself as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The response of the Brazilian state to this humanitarian crisis was to support the movement of Haitians towards São Paulo. Again, this has not been a part of a national settlement policy but the decision of the local government in Acre, with support of the national government in later stages, to remove Haitians from this zone in Acre state and to send Haitians to São Paulo where the larger demand for Haitian labour would supposedly benefit both workers searching for jobs and employers who needed to reduce their costs through the recruitment of new workers. The journey to São Paulo from Acre takes almost three days by bus – 4000 kilometres in very

precarious conditions (see Chapter 6). Once in São Paulo, Haitians were dropped off at the bus station with no public support, economic resources or information.

The lack of settlement policies and social rights (see Chapter 4) has impacted deeply on the recruitment of Haitians into employment in Brazil. Haitians have relied on informal networks and on civil society institutions, which have been, unsurprisingly, overwhelmed with the arrival of this large contingent of migrants. The lack of state support and the low levels of Portuguese fluency among Haitians have made these institutions the first, and perhaps the only, channels between Haitians and local society, whereby Haitians seek to find ways to ensure their social reproduction – gradually this role has been shared with Haitian networks as will be shown in this thesis. Overall, these organisations have been committed to provide Haitians with improvised temporary accommodation and with information about documents, their rights and the labour market. On the other hand, the dominant role of these actors has gradually increased, while also inspiring employers to use NGOs as labour intermediaries of Haitian employment (further examples in Silva, 2013; Baeninger and Peres, 2017).

The main example of this practice found in this study is a religious institution in São Paulo where Haitians seek support. It has become a meeting point for Haitians and hundreds of them often go every day and spend the whole day, hoping they will find work. In other words, this supportive organisation is their best hope to find ways to socially reproduce themselves in the short and in the medium term in Brazil. It acts as a new buffer zone, on which medium and large-scale businesses rely for ongoing supply of labour to sustain their high turnover rate. Although the role this institution plays in intermediating recruitment remains predominantly informal, dozens of Haitian workers per day were regularly recruited here until late 2015 (Sant'anna and Prado, 2014; Missão Paz, 2017). In almost five years, over 2033 companies contacted this specific institution to intermediate the formal recruitment of 6421 migrants, of which the clear majority were Haitians (Missão Paz, 2017). Michel is one of these Haitian migrants. Like many others, Michel spent his first two months in Brazil in this buffer zone where he found temporary accommodation and searched for a job. He only left once he found a job alongside his friends in the construction of an expansion of the international airport of São Paulo for the FIFA World Cup in 2014.

One structural limitation of this informal intermediary, like of many others, is that it focuses on the formal inclusion of Haitians into employment rather than on the ongoing dynamics in the workplace. Nevertheless, with this informal role, these intermediaries have been unable to operate beyond this scope which leave Haitians extremely vulnerable to abuse. This was observed in visits and informal discussions with Haitians in this buffer area in São Paulo. The institution has limited resources to regulate informal recruitment in its area and to protect migrants after employment contract is firmed. At the time approximately two-thirds of companies had failed to offer Haitians the minimum working conditions required by this religious institution (Fernandes, 2014): a formal employment contract and a monthly wage of R$1100 to workers, which is already an amount extremely far below what is necessary for the social reproduction of Haitians in Brazil (see Chapter 4). The outcome is that employers have informally recruited workers in the area. They recruit a large contingent of workers at a time, who then receive super-exploitive and often illegal working conditions, as will be discussed in the following sections. Haitians, in turn, are constrained by their legal and economic vulnerability. In addition to the competition against other Haitian workers, Haitians believe that if they resist employers' abuses and potential violations, they will lose their visas or be added to a 'black list' by potential employers. Although other migrants have discussed their situation informally, Osse Mondestin, 26 years old, was the only one of over 50 Haitians in this area who consented to have his interview recorded. He left a buffer area in Acre and moved to another one in São Paulo, hoping he 'would have more opportunities'. Unable to find a job elsewhere, he had returned to this buffer zone every day in the six weeks prior to this interview where he hopes to find a job.

Another limitation of the role these institutions play is that their action remains peripheral, operating in a formalised informality. Although the state recognises the role played by these institutions in the recruitment and settlement of these workers, it does not ensure necessary measures for the protection of Haitians and the activities of these institutions remain informal. Consequently, undefined boundaries of informality often expand the structural hardship Haitians have experienced in Brazil, making them more susceptible to super-exploitation – both through legal and illegal activities. While most of institutions aim to support Haitians, some have taken advantage of this

situation. The most explicit evidence of this argument was found in the role a trade union in the city of Londrina.

This trade union is the second example of an informal labour intermediary. This institution has not limited its actions to its formal role in intermediate employment, but it has also operated as an informal contractor which outsources Haitian labour to agribusiness and civil construction companies in the region. As highlighted in Chapter 4, Haitians are not allowed to join a trade union, but what occurs here is not they are union members but rather they are employed and exploited by one. This an important feature of employment in Brazil, because while unions do exist, they sometimes become co-opted by the military, or involved in systemic corruption, and as a result exacerbate the problem rather than protect workers from exploitation.

Employers have used the services of this trade union to hire temporary informal workers for short-term needs. In the narrative of Yves Fayette, who talks about his employment relationship with the trade union, evidence of super-exploitation can already be seen. Like many other Haitians, he signed a contract with the trade union, which provides him with no legal rights and forces him to agree to receive only half of his wages. In this sense, the trade union super-exploits Haitians by converting Haitian wages into a source of capital accumulation (further discussion in the next section).

> When we enter, we sign a contract. You work ten days and then you work more 10 days. You receive [payment] only for ten days. He [the union representative] will always keep ten days in his hand. After every twenty days of work, you will receive [payment] for ten days.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

Similarly, the transformation of the trade union as a labour intermediate in a local buffer zone occurred due to a lack of alternatives and employment insecurity. Yves Fayette, who along with other six Haitians, has been working for this trade union, explains how his work has been difficult and unstable but often the only opportunity he had. At the trade union, Haitians receive no training or upfront information about their workplace nor their role. Job stability only exists in harvest periods of corn, cereals and soy. ‘In the union, you make money in the harvest. When it is harvest time, you make money. A lot of money!’ says Yves. At the time of this interview, he had been unable to work for longer than 9 months at a time since he arrived in Brazil three years

before. Yet, this employment experience was while working for the trade union in which his labour was outsourced to different companies in different jobs and he remained an informal worker.

The inability of Haitians to predict their future is a constant. Each day they go to the trade union without knowing whether they will have a job or not, who will be their employer, and what their job functions, wages or working shifts might be. Not only does this uncertainty have further social implications for Haitians as explored in previous chapters, but it also impacts on their subordination in the workplace. This corresponds to the narrative of Dieter Damour, who has also worked for the trade union. All his jobs have been physical, mainly as a 'bagger' – a labourer who care bags over their shoulders – of construction material and agribusiness commodities. He says he hates to work for the trade union, where he experiences countless abuses, but the lack of alternatives keeps pushing him back.

> In the trade union, there are good days and bad days. There are days that I went there and they told me: "wait, wait, we will have a job for you today". I waited the whole day there and there was no work. The next day, I go there again because they said they would have work.
>
> Dieter Damour, 32 years old

The sense of insecurity is illustrated by the narrative of Yves. He believes he must maintain his job and so he complies with the abuses Haitian suffer at work rather than resist to them as other Haitian have done in the past. His narrative indicates that perceptions of employer recognition and appreciation of his hard work were important to him to ensure his employment:

> As for myself, if they don't happen to have work for me now, they will send me to somewhere else with work. Why? Because they saw that I work. Do you understand? For me, even if there is no work, there is always something. Even if there is nothing, they will send me to another place because I work. They like me. Everyone likes me. Even the president likes me. They send only Haitians that are good [workers].
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

Finally, a third buffer zone are buffer neighbourhoods which are organised by Haitian community networks. Although more disseminated than the previous other

examples, networks have played a similar, if not more active, role in supplying employers with large amounts of Haitian labour in very vulnerable conditions. Networks have been fundamental for Haitian workers in supporting emigration, settlement and inclusion in Brazil (see Chapter 6). While migrants find that the support of networks is a form of solidarity, for capital it represents the social reproduction workers outside labour markets and an ongoing extensive supply of labour (Ferguson and McNally, 2015).

Unsurprisingly, Haitians have attempted to find work for their fellow citizens in Brazil, which has made Haitian networks increasingly important employment intermediaries. This is because once information on recruitment spreads through Haitian networks, new workers attempt to move to areas or cities where they know specific companies are hiring Haitians. However, as previously mentioned in Chapter 4, proximity to the workplace is relative because these workers must find neighbourhoods in which the cost of living is affordable. Commonly, these are niche 'ghetto-like' communities in the cheapest urban areas. Moreover, Haitian narratives indicate that employers have actively used Haitian networks to access these areas of residency as an important supply of labour. Employers have encouraged their employees to bring other Haitians to work for them. One example is the narrative of Jean-Claude Tassy, in which he describes the informal recruitment strategies of his employer: *'*Once we start to work and the company gets to know us, the company is always sending us after [other] Haitians. "Do you have a relative to recommend to work for us? Do you have friends to work for us?"' Like many other Haitians, Jean-Claude indicates that these demands have increased over time and become the main recruitment strategy of his employer.

Another example is Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old, who came to Maringá in Paraná because his friend's employer asked for Haitian workers. This employer in the agribusiness sector has hired over 400 Haitians in the last three years (Frango Canção, 2018). Once information on recruitment spreads through Haitian networks, new workers attempt to leave in areas or cities where they know specific companies are hiring Haitians. This link became increasingly apparent in the Brazilian territory, as Haitians started to migrate not only to more economically developed southern states in Brazil, but also to regions and cities where the major employers of Haitians were situated.

The implications of this have not only affected employment outcomes, but also the living conditions of Haitians. While many Haitians believed, at first glance, that this trend would offer further job opportunities, in reality, it has elevated their dependence on specific employers as the local labour market have not necessarily offer alternatives for employment or affordable living conditions – as discussed in Chapter 4. As will be elaborated in this chapter, the outcome has been the expansion of asymmetrical power relations between Haitians and employers, which has allowed for a deterioration of working conditions.

These buffering neighbourhoods have provided not only the supply of labour for employers in their workplaces but also a source to maintain the turnover rate of larger companies in their different sites of operation. Moreover, this strategy has also put Haitians under further pressure by increasing expenses associated with accommodation and travel from Haiti, therefore increasing the cost of their social reproduction (discussion in Chapter 6). This pattern can also be seen in the case of the narrative of Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old, who was constantly required to use his network to provide new Haitian workers. As he explains: 'The manager used to call me "the ambassador". I was asked to recommend more than 50 workers (…) Any Haitians who needed work. He hired more than 50 Haitians and not just once.'

This section has shown how the relationship between the formation of buffer zones and a large supply of Haitians which is essential condition for their super-exploitation. The labour intermediaries are instrumental for employers to constitute buffer zones of Haitian labour. In particular, they are crucial for labour intensive sectors who have been able to overcome obstacles which associated with the high turnover rate and the demand for large numbers of workers at a time to meet conditions of production. Moreover, these buffer zones provide employers with Haitian workers in vulnerable economic and legal situations which consequently undermine Haitians' bargaining power and potentially discourage them from struggling in the workplace since they can be easily replaced by another Haitian. In other words, although the existence of buffer zones is insufficient for employers to super-exploit workers per se, they are essential to shape their specific form of subordination which makes Haitians suitable for super-exploitation in these sectors. The following sections will discuss how this has impacted on workplace dynamics and the super-exploitation of Haitians.

### 5.3 Taking to receive: lower wages and excessive working hours

This section explores how employers have used flexible employment arrangements against Haitians to shape different modalities of super-exploitation: the expropriation of worker's wages as an extra source of capital accumulation, the devaluation of the historical value of labour and the increased extension of the working day without appropriate rest or financial compensation. Findings show that wage manipulation or defaulting on wage payments are the two main strategies deployed to do so. Haitians are consequently drawn into these super-exploitative practices because employers increase the dependence of Haitians on extra income sources to ensure their social reproduction.

> You have to work under the sun, loading wagons of corn, soy and bran. (…) When the wagon comes, you have to clean it, even when it is very hot. You must go inside and clean it. The sun is very hot at mid-day. The wagon comes with that heat and you must enter, clean very fast and load it. I'm the lightest one so I must I go inside to clean, but it is hard to clean that wet corn and soy…you have to remove everything, but it is stuck and stinking. I will never forget this. I spent two months working this way every day. From 8 am until midnight. Sometimes we arrived at 9 am on Saturdays and, on Sunday, we arrived at 5 or 6 am.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

The narrative of Yves Fayette introduces the morphology of Haitian employment in Brazil. Seasonal sectors account for the most precarious and labour-intensive jobs. Employers in these sectors are inclined to push workers for longer hours so that they can meet sector specific demand during certain busy periods (i.e. harvest period, construction deadlines) and optimise their costs. To do so, employers have increasingly used flexible employment arrangements during the economic boom years of Brazil's development model. However, 'flexibility' in this context has comprised legal and illegal strategies to reduce the costs of labour.

For Haitians, who are segmented at the bottom of labour market, this kind of flexible employment is the only form of employment they know in Brazil. Whether Haitians have had a formal or informal job, the morphology of their employment provides similar outcomes: Haitians receive low wages and have no job security. This

negatively impacts not only on their job prospects, but also on their working hours and, thus, their regular wages. As a result, Haitians commonly attempt to make the most of each job opportunity so that they can ensure their social reproduction which may be reflected in their subordination to work longer hours. The outcome is that Haitians face routines of 10-14 hours a day, which means they can work per week almost twice as much as a regular worker should work according to the national legislation.

The narrative of Yves comprises all of these elements. He worked for the trade union in Londrina where he routinely faced a working day of 14-17 hours, without weekends. Yves believed that his boss could have organised two 8-hour shifts for Haitians as he did with his non-outsourced employees. However, as Yves summarised himself, 'there is no other way' and Yves is forced to subject himself to the expectation of his employer. The subordination of Haitians to these practices, some of them illegal, was an essential advantage in hiring the Haitians.

> He [his boss] could have [organised] an eight-hour shift, the first [shift] until four or five o'clock in the afternoon. Exactly as he has [with the] two shifts for his [non-Haitian] employees. But he does not have this for us. We do not work for him, we work for the trade union. It's the union that's sending us here. And they do not ask people to sign our employment record either. We have to do so. But that's why they call us to work there.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

Wage manipulation is a second aspect which has induced Haitians to work excessive working hours. Haitian wages are often lower than the wages employers would pay to the local workforce who are already super-exploited in these sectors (Garvey and Barreto, 2016; McGrath, 2011; Thomaz Jr., 2000). Haitians' average salaries are close to the national minimum wage, which although legal per se, is an insufficient amount to ensure their social reproduction (discussion in Chapters 4 and 6). Therefore, other modality of super-exploitation occurs because wage manipulation transforms part of Haitians' consumption fund into an extra source of accumulation and workers are thus unable to socially reproduce themselves.

Moreover, wage manipulation has contributed to recast Haitians as peripheral workers in their workplaces. Wage differentials have been found not only between jobs, but also in the same workplace between Haitians and Brazilian working in the same roles. Rather than the full compliance of Haitians, most interviews indicate a

complex articulation between the peripheral inclusion of this workforce into employment and flexible employment arrangements. For instance, workers are not fully aware of employment conditions prior to beginning a job in Brazil, such as average wages and employment rights. This is a configuration that empowers employers to create new sources of value, which in this case comes as cheaper Haitian labour. Jacques Trouillot shows his disagreement in relation to the lower value of Haitian labour power:

> Everyone should receive the same thing. Here, Brazilians receive more than Haitians do and Haitians work more than Brazilians. [We] work more and receive less. [They] work less and receive more. This is hard.
>
> Jacques Trouillot, 27 years old

Like many other Haitians, Antoine Louis, 25 years old, complains that his employer has never readjusted the wages of Haitians despite having done so for his Brazilian workers. This shows a form of super-exploitation as there is an increase in the historical value of labour while Haitians have their pay frozen. Another example is the narrative of Samuel Roche, which reaffirms that Haitians are often unconscious of this wage gap. When Haitians become aware of this situation, they are already subordinated to their employers. Samuel signed a contract for a job in civil construction where he was promised a wage increase after he had passed the probationary period of three months. Once his employer broke this agreement, Samuel Roche struggled for his rights and was informed about a significant pay gap between his wages and the overall pay for his job function.

> They promised to pay me R$1200 and she also said that after three months she [the manager] was going to increase my salary. (…) But then she told me she would not [even] pay me R$1200 and if I insisted they would fire me. I told her I was going to the Minister of Labour and she said the Ministry of Labour would not solve the problems of a foreigner. Then I went to a trade union. They confirmed to me that my salary in civil construction was supposed to be 1940 reais.
>
> Samuel Roche, 33 years old

These obstacles push workers to accept working longer hours to increase their income and thus have enough for their social reproduction. While some may argue

that this is a unilateral response from migrants to increase wages, further evidence reinforces how employers may play a crucial role in pushing workers into unduly working additional hours. The situation of Jameson Thébaud summarises these elements. He replaced a Brazilian co-worker who decided to leave his job. Nevertheless, once he started in this new job his employer sought to re-shape his working conditions, salary and rights. Jameson would have to work overtime hours and reduce his formal income to receive similar wages. As he explains:

> Before I started I knew the person doing my job who received R$1500. But when I started, the salary decreased to R$1300. Afterwards, he [the boss] agreed to increase my salary to R$1420, but not formally. In fact, he told me he would decrease my formal salary, which would be R$1420, to R$1200, so he could pay me overtime hours.
>
> Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old

These findings do not mean that the experiences of Haitians are simply a result of employers' will. Rather, they illustrate how Haitians' agencies are undermined by asymmetric power relations between them and Brazilian employers. The following paragraphs focus on narratives in which workers emphasize their will despite their socio-economic vulnerability and physiological limitations. Frequently, Haitians perceive overtime hours as a choice which provides an extra source of income and compensates them for their low wages. One example is the narrative Toussaint Duprés, who faced working of 9-14 hours daily. He has been in Brazil for three years and has deeply relied on overtime hours in all five of the different jobs he has had to live in Brazil. He uses his own notion of hard work to justify his willingness to work overtime at night and receive additional pay:

> Their shift is from the 3 pm until midnight. But there is also overtime pay. They asked us to do it and we liked to work overtime. It is a capacity that God gave to us. We have a lot of stamina to work.
>
> Toussaint Duprés, 28 years old

Similarly, Jean-Claude Tassy has taken double shifts in Brazil for two years so that he could open his own business and bring the rest of his family to Brazil. Again, his own notion of hard work shapes his decision to accept excessive working long

hours. However, both of them, Jean-Claude and Toussaint, started to suffer from health issues from working beyond their limits. Commonly, these are clear symptoms of the gradual degradation of the labour power of super-exploited workers (further evidence of these in the next section). As Toussaint illustrates in his narrative about the same job described above:

> I had to leave this job because I had gastritis. I used to leave home at two thirty (in the afternoon]. I started to work at three and there were times I returned home at five in the morning. That was the worst job! They used to tell us that the shift after midnight was overtime. We accepted this because we needed more money; we needed to work overtime hours.
>
> Jean-Claude Tassy, 29 years old

As Jean-Claude explains, the economic advantage was ultimately not enough to compensate for the fallout of super-exploitation:

> It is very tiring. There are days that I worked 20 hours per day. (...) There was a time I couldn't handle it anymore because I started here at 7 and finished at 3 or 4 in the morning. (...) It is worth it economically, but it isn't worth for your body. No one can bear this.
>
> Jean-Claude Tassy, 29 years old

For others, elements such as responsibility towards their families stand out, which is Michel Lapres' situation. Michel worked on a construction site for an outsourced company, which has been part of a multinational Brazilian conglomerate in the construction sector. In his narrative, he highlights that his salary, approximately 1067 reais, in civil construction was insufficient to afford his living costs in Brazil. Although he confessed that workers who do not accept overtime hours might be dismissed from their jobs, Michel highlights that he was always interested in working overtime hours to support his family members in Brazil and in Haiti:

> I already knew the time I was starting and finishing my day, from seven in the morning to five in the afternoon (...). After five in the afternoon, there was overtime. Since they always had a run to finish the construction, we worked overtime until seven, ten

> o'clock in the evening. Saturday, Sunday, everything was overtime.
>
> Michel Lapres, 39 years old

On the other hand, the rest of Michel's story indicates the complex articulation between employer strategies and the personal plans of Haitians. After a few months working as a mason, his company promoted him and offered him a steady job as an administrative assistant in the company office where he could make of use of his two university degrees and five languages. Nevertheless, Michel was surprised by the fact that his salary did not increase. In addition, he no longer received the overtime hours that are very common in construction projects at this time. Struggling with low wages, he was forced to return to his previous job. This strategy continued to work for Michel during the boom years of the Brazilian development model when he found different construction jobs for outsourced companies from the same conglomerate. However, at the time of this interview, during the economic stagnation, Michel had been made redundant and had been unemployed for 11 months. Moreover, Michel had not received his unemployment indemnity.

> Afterwards, I left Jabaquara [a city in São Paulo state] and got a job in the same firm to work in their office. As I had skills, I spent six months in the office, but I really needed money. In the office, I just received the salary stated in the employee record card. (…) I spent six months there. After six months, I said: 'I'm done!' I did not work overtime, I did not work on Saturdays…The pay as so little. So, I asked to return to the construction site.
>
> Michel Lapres, 39 years old

This outcome also introduces the final, and the most common, strategy of employers which is a wage default. Findings demonstrate that a myriad of illegal activities are related to the violation of Haitian rights and wages. These strategies complexify how super-exploitation is commonly understood. In this scenario, super-exploitation is aggravated not only by wages below what is necessary for social reproduction but also by employment agreements. It only occurs in the medium or long term once workers have already sold their labour power. Examples are the non-payment of wages, overtime hours, indemnitees and holidays, non-registration of workers as well as the registration of employees in different positions than their job function, which includes the creation of shell companies to do so. More importantly,

this strategy shows new levels of compliance with super-exploitation between the state and employers. Employers' senses of impunity and the vulnerability of these Haitians sustains this situation. In this sense, the state supports employers not only by legalising flexible employer arrangements, but also by ignoring illegal practices. Haitians, in turn, often subordinate themselves to these practices as they face their socio-economic vulnerability as their main challenge.

Another similar example is the narrative of Antoine Louis who was dismissed by his employer. Once he was fired, Antoine realised that his employer had registered him in a different job function and for different working hours, so that he would not have to pay for overtime hours, or additional weekend and night shifts. Like many other Haitians, Antoine Louis says an agreement with his employer is the best option because he needs to provide for his family and to do so he must leave Brazil as soon as possible. Interviews show that such urgency has made companies increase their reliance on this strategy during the economic crisis. Similarly, Michel Lapres, another worker, says he has had two mediation meetings to negotiate the payment of his indemnities. He believes this is his best chance, since a juridical process would take years and he cannot afford it. As he explains:

> The companies know that the law [the juridical system] takes too long. There are three labour inspectors to inspect more than two hundred companies… the law [the juridical system] is taking too long to give us results and to help these migrants. This is bad.
>
> Michel Lapres, 39 years old

Moreover, even when workers manage to find local support, unequal power relations remain crucial in jeopardising Haitians' outcomes. As Evens Sainteus, 36 years old, who is a Haitian community leader in Maringá, Paraná, explains, the advice of the local trade union is insufficient to help face 'the many lawyers' which the local agribusiness company in the meat sector can afford. Samuel Roche, in turn, highlights that his economic situation restrains further action against his employer. As previously highlighted, he aimed to persecute his employer for refusing to pay him due wages. Yet despite Samuel's will, he had no local support to pursue his plans. As he explains:

> For that company there was no trade union here [Maringá] I would have to go to Curitiba [distance of over 400 km]. I said:

> ‘Jesus, there’s only a trade union in Curitiba? I can’t pay for a ticket to get there’.
>
> Samuel Roche, 33 years old

This section has shown how employers use flexible employment arrangements to include Haitian workers into super-exploitable employment relationships. Wage manipulation and defaulting on wage payments, for instance, are central elements in their strategies. Haitians, in turn, deploy their own strategies to ensure their social reproduction in light of these unequal power relations between workers and employers. The next section expands this analysis by focusing on the strategies of super-exploitation applied to the ongoing routines of Haitians in their workplaces.

### 5.4 Hard working and state of insecurity: labour intensification in the workplace

This section explores the super-exploitation of Haitians with a focus on labour intensification. This constitutes a modality of super-exploitation because it aims to extract more value from workers without compensating them for it. Labour intensification is the best form to illustrate how super-exploitation occurs not only at separate stages (i.e. workers payments or during overtime hours) but also continuously, melted into the daily working routines of Haitians. Findings how these emerging forms of flexibility make employers capable of accommodating strategies for attaining labour intensification: racial and ethnic discrimination, illegal punitive measures, and the denial of breaks and pauses are examples of ongoing strategies to intensify the labour exploitation of Haitian workers in the workplace. Given the recurrent use of these strategies, it is possible to observe how employers have interpreted migrant labour by its potential for labour intensification and ultimately have found new paths towards super-exploitation.

This modality of super-exploitation is a common practice in seasonal sectors and has increasingly targeted international migrant workers. In corroboration of this argument, the civil construction and agribusiness sectors have been responsible for approximately 33% of all cases of slave-like working conditions in Brazil, which are

manly found in workplace dynamics and attempts to intensify the exploitation of workers. These are linked to physical and psychological violence as well as health issues. In such cases, domestic migrant workers are predominant while international migrants disproportionally constitute up to 35% of the workforce – although they represent less than 1% of the local working population (MTE, 2017). As has been elaborated in this thesis, one explanation for this scenario is that the structural and regulatory conditions which shape the everyday lives of international workers allows for a level of subordination that several employers use to maximize profit by violating workers' rights. The vast majority of the interviews highlighted that job insecurity and family obligations are the main reasons for compliance with attempts at labour of intensification.

> We say that you need physical strength to work in Brazil. This is what most of the companies want from us, they want foremost our physical strength. (...)It is not easy, but it has been hard to find a job. So we must adapt ourselves even if the job is very hard. Because we need, we must sacrifice ourselves.
>
> Osse Mondestin, 26 years old

As Osse Mondestin illustrates, another similarity between the jobs given to Haitians in the civil construction and agribusiness sectors are physically demanding routine tasks such as manual and repetitive labour. All but two participants describe only the negative aspects of their employment experiences in these jobs. However, like Osse Mondestin, they emphasise the importance of their 'sacrifice' due to the lack of options and family obligations. To keep pace with seasonal production, tight deadlines and low costs, employers tend to overpressure Haitian workers to work harder to the extent that the intensity of their working routine often violates their rights, constraining labour power and ultimately the social reproduction of workers – as Haitians are unable to rest and regenerate their energy properly between these shifts. Yet, the impact of labour intensification on workers is extended due to the previously mentioned dynamics in the workplace such as insecurity, instability, unpredictable working routines and the extensification of working days (Antunes, 2006).

The restructuring of production has allowed several managerial regimes to increase their control of time to intensify the exploitation of labour. The increasing flexibilization of employment contributes to it because the ongoing feelings of

insecurity and instability that Haitians have, are used as forms of control in the workplace. While this form of super-exploitation has been normalised into structural features of employment worldwide, such trends are particularly effective for employers in labour intense sectors such as those which have employed Haitians in Brazil. These sectors can use the buffer zones to push down the working conditions and labour costs. In spite of technological advances, labour costs continue to be a substantial part of production costs in the agribusiness and civil construction sectors – either because some jobs in these sectors remain dependent on manual labour or because labour can be so cheap and productive that super-exploitation of labour offers an advantage for employers in comparison to mechanisation. These overall practices of control reinforce the importance of labour intensification for these sectors, while they also make it harder for workers to contest the conditions of super-exploitation.

These patterns of control have allowed further demonstration of the asymmetrical power relations between Haitians and their employers in the workplace. Without offering workers potential rewards, employers' attempts at labour intensification occur mainly through surveillance, offences and ongoing pressures rather than through motivational tactics, management ideologies or opportunities for better working conditions. The narratives of Haitian workers have commonly highlighted that employers have used foremen to 'enforce' the intensification of labour in their workplaces. Haitian narratives use words such as 'inspector' or 'foreman' to describe the same kind of employee: a professional worker who employers have used to control production time and maximise the efforts of Haitians. The foreman was responsible for the subjugation of workers in a less visible way, which includes ongoing surveillance, language bans, offenses and violations of Haitians rights.

The weakness of workers, in terms of bargaining power, is largely a result of flexible employment arrangements. The lack of regulatory protection and the blurred notion of in-formality enhances the chances of socially constructed inequalities being reproduced in a labour market where informality is a historical feature. In this case, these socio-economic inequalities underlie both the materiality and symbolism of the local channels of oppression which, in turn, trace back to the legacy of colonialism and slavery in Brazil. The narratives of Haitians, all of whom are black migrants, show that the reproduction of historical patterns of subordination are used to convey ideas of inferiority so that Haitian subalternity must be counterbalanced by higher physical and

psychological efforts. The nexus between material and symbolic practices matters conceptually because it highlights a pattern of control which shapes how Haitian workers experience super-exploitation.

One example is the narrative of Samuel Roche which indicates his experience while working for a company in the civil construction sector. He states that his manager believed that Haitians were not a 'good race', and were, therefore, unlikely to meet job expectations and their daily working tasks. For this reason, he believed that Haitians must be under surveillance and not communicate with each other in their own language – as it happens in the majority of workplaces in Brazil, although the lack of prior knowledge of Portuguese did not prevent employers from recruiting these workers. This surveillance allowed his employer to permanently pressure Haitians to work harder in the workplace.

> Researcher: How did they treat you at this job?
> Samuel Roche: There was one day the boss brought this Brazilian to register our pay sheet with the time we arrived and the time we left.
> Researcher: Only you or for all employees?
> Samuel Roche: Myself and the other Haitians. Only the Haitians.
>
> Samuel Roche, 33 years old

They aim to convey discriminatory notions of inferiority in order to intensify Haitian efforts and to introduce further pressure into the daily routines of Haitians at work. While strategies of intensification may not be converted into higher levels of production (Luce, 2013), findings show that they are important in rendering Haitians peripheral in their workplaces and in subordinating them to the ongoing pressure in their seasonal jobs. Although Haitians have struggled with these representations, they eventually cope with this extra source of pressure to ensure their social reproduction.

The use of racist nicknames and offences are the gateway to complementary means which aim to intensify the value extraction of Haitian labour. Employers aim to subjugate Haitians by reducing them to their labour and biological conditions, removing them from their individualities and, later on, from their social rights. One example is the narrative of Dieter and his routine in the agribusiness sector. Dieter explained how he was always exhausted at the trade union because he was forced to do all the 'heavier work'. Dieter said he could no longer cope with the racial offence,

used by an inspector to pressure him. The narrative below illustrates a common daily situation:

> There are six Haitians in the trade union, but when he [the inspector] calls one of us, [he says]: 'Hey, black thing, go and take that thing now! Do this, do that…' When a Brazilian needs help: 'I will call the black thing for you'. There are days that are very difficult, very difficult.
>
> Dieter Damour, 32 years old

Yves, in turn, attempts to understate the nature of the problem while revealing a broader system of social oppression in Brazil. As previous described, Yves tend to emphasise his own efforts and not complain about working conditions in Brazil so that he may increase the chances of being recruited for future jobs. He acknowledges that these abuses aim to intensify their labour, but he believes this was not racism itself because it was also used against other Brazilian black workers. For him, these offenses and abuses were part of the 'brute nature' of their work for the trade union as 'baggers' – a labourer who care bags over their shoulders – which must push workers to their limits to meet their deadlines. In this sense, only hard workers, such as himself, can handle this job. As he explains:

> Sometimes he [the inspector] calls us 'black thing', but we aren't the only ones. There are other black Brazilians who he refers to this way [too]. They don't have a problem. This is the way. (…) It isn't because he wants to humiliate us. There are Haitians who don't understand that. This is what a bagger [labourer] does. But I saw he acts this way with everyone, so I don't have a problem, because this is with everybody.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

This discriminatory strategy for oppression also extends to the context of Haitian migration. Interviews pointed out that employers have conveyed notions that the arrival of Haitians in Brazil in the aftermath of the humanitarian disaster in Haiti means that concessions have been made to Haitians so these migrant workers, in turn, must consent to increase their efforts and accept violations of their rights. In this sense, while racial discrimination against black workers is a historical practice to super-exploit workers in Brazil, further discrimination has emerged to engage this new workforce in super-exploitation.

This is illustrated in the experience of Toussaint Duprés, whose employer has told him to accept abuses and poor working conditions due to his country of origin: 'he thinks Haitians don't have the right to complain about the work here. "You come from a poor country, you have nothing to complain about. It is just amen!"'. This narrative corresponds to the affirmation of Jameson Thébaud, who shows that this form of political subordination contributes to the peripheral conditions of Haitians. For him, these discriminatory practices Haitians subject to worse employment conditions than any other migrant community in Brazil. It is all in 'their heads', he says:

> Brazilians believe that we must accept anything because we left a small and a poor country. (…) This the idea they have in their minds. They have this idea about Haitians because they believe that we can't go back to Haiti. Haitians left a poor country…
>
> Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old

However, these discriminatory practices cannot be divorced from processes of labour intensification and the political economy of employment in Brazil. As previously explored in the literature review, discrimination draws upon the colonial legacy and remains a symbolic face of a coercive pattern of subordination which has allowed for the reproduction of super-exploitation. The narrative of Daniel Damas illustrates the motivation behind such discrimination. He works on a construction site, where his employer has used Daniel's migrant status to deny him rest breaks and oblige Daniel and other Haitians to work even harder. They are forced to intensify their efforts rather than taking breaks. As Daniel explains:

> The boss said one day: 'If you come here you must work very hard because you left your country. You were there suffering, in misery. So, if you are looking for a better life, you must work. You cannot take breaks'.
>
> Daniel Damas, 33 years old

Inevitably, Haitians eventually reach their physical and psychological limits by working under these conditions. If, for employers, intensification means potential gains in productivity, for workers, it means further physical and psychological pressure which has potential repercussions to labour power. As a result, health issues have become an indicator which provides evidence of the super-exploitation of Haitians. As previously described, a crucial effect of super-exploitation on workers is the gradual

degradation of their labour power, an outcome which is often reflected in their bodies. Although medium and long-term effects are less visible, Haitians indicate a high number of psychological and physical illnesses are directly associated with their working routines. Exhaustive journeys, extreme temperatures, physical and psychological abuses, repetitive movements and insufficient rest are all elements linked to work intensification that have led to workers becoming ill. This tendency aligns with previous research which has shown that agribusiness and civil construction are responsible for the highest number of labour accidents and occupational illnesses in Brazil (MTE, 2017; Radar SIT, 2019). However, the increasing flexibilization of employment has obscured this scenario. While reports have shown that flexibility has substantially increased the number of work-related illnesses, workers have underreported their illnesses due to the lack of legal protection and the insecure nature of their employment (Filgueiras, 2015; Pignati and Machado, 2011). One example is in the civil construction sector where specialists suggest that only one in eight cases is reported (Filgueiras, 2015). Similar trends are found in the agribusiness sector, especially in meat processing industry – the main employer of Haitians in the sector. Furthermore, the degree of causation between employment activities and several of these physical and psychological illnesses is difficult to prove, creating further challenges for workers. As Yves illustrates:

> There was this Haitian who came here [to the trade union] and was ill twice. Firstly, he got a kind of fever. He should have stayed three months in the hospital. But he received only two months [of sick leave]. He said: 'I'm not going to stay without work'. Then, he went back to work and he got ill again. He had to have surgery. I think he had to stay nine months in the hospital.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

On the other hand, the responses of employers to these health conditions provide further evidence of the relationship between flexibility and super-exploitation. For employers, health issues may represent the unauthorized interruption of super-exploitation as employers must pay statutory sick pay for workers whose labour power is no longer being extracted. Flexible employment arrangements have also been used to overcome this limitation. The outsourcing of production to small and medium-scale

companies has allowed employers to violate these rights, although these outsourced jobs are those with the highest number of work-related illnesses.

The narratives of Haitians show how this happens: employers have violated Haitian health rights and punished Haitians for being sick. One example is the narrative of Emmanuel Guerriero, in which he explains how the management strategy on a construction site super-exploited him. Emmanuel faced exhaustive working journeys and permanent pressure to work harder as he was the only assistant of seven masons. For example, his employer also fined him for health absences so that wider aspects of production would not be compromised. In this sense, his health issues became sources of super-exploitation: his employer not only denied him statutory sick pay, but used it to convert Emmanuel's wages into an extra source of accumulation:

> They used to make me work like a slave. [...] When they asked me to do something, they expected it to be done in 10 minutes. And If I ever missed a day of work, they would discount two days from my pay.
>
> Emmanuel Guerriero, 32 years old

Other employers have interpreted health conditions as a sign that workers are no longer suitable for their jobs. As Bronwen Horton highlights (2016), these responses may also indicate that employers consider workers are 'wasted' and can no longer cope with the intensity of production. For Haitians, this leads to an increased sense of insecurity and marginalisation in their workplace, which contributes to their acceptance of abuses and super-exploitation. One example is the experience of Jacques Trouillot, in which he describes how he lost his job due to a justified absence from work. He had a toothache which forced him to be absent from work for one day. Although it was also his first absence from work in 11 months, his employer dismissed him.

> I went to the hospital. The doctor gave me a medical certificate to remain at home for the entire day. The next day, I went to work. On Monday, the boss fired me. He told me: 'Today you are not going to the field'. Then he came and fired me. He said I was a dog, a little monkey, a lot of racist things…He said that I did not want to work. He said many bad things.
>
> Jacques Trouillot, 36 years old

The final narrative is from Yves, whose experience working for the trade union has been extensively explored in this chapter. Although Yves had been a 'hard worker' and did not complain about anything, he has not escape from the same outcome. One day Yves felt sick and 'fell asleep' during work because of an exhaustive working routine and the inhalation of toxins from fertilizers. Yves, alongside other Haitian workers, was immediately dismissed without the chance to explain himself. In this sense, the reaction of his inspector demonstrates not only intolerance, but discrimination against Haitians as a whole. As he illustrates below:

> He [his employer] also sells fertilizers. The fertilizers come in the wagon and we have to unload them. Do you know when? At ten forty at night! Man…even wearing a mask on your face, you cry. Your face keeps burning. There is plenty of fertilizer dust on it.
> I went to the bathroom. There was a chair there for us to arrange our stuff. I sat, and I slept without realising it! I didn't know. But the inspector came looking for me. He asked people where I was. So he saw I had fallen asleep. Then he said they would no longer hire Haitians. (…). The inspector said: 'Tomorrow, don't come anymore". He told that to me and to the other Haitians'.
>
> Yves Fayette, 33 years old

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the super-exploitation of Haitians occurs in the workplace. It aimed to explore the modalities of Haitian super-exploitation in the context of the changing nature of employment in Brazil's neo-development model and the struggle of Haitians for their social reproduction. It has moved beyond the standard conceptualisations of super-exploitation by showing the porosity between formal and informal practices in these workplace dynamics. The first section introduced the notion of buffer zones to explore how employers, with the support of informal labour intermediaries, have taken advantage of the peripheral inclusion of Haitians in Brazil to recruit workers in deregulated areas with large supplies of labour. The existence of geographical buffer zones offers very few limits for employers in agribusiness and construction sectors as this reserve army of labour is permanently available and employers in these sectors do not need to invest either in training or recruitment to

super-exploit these workers. The second section has shown how wage manipulation and wage defaulting are flexible arrangements employers use to expropriate Haitians' consumption fund as an extra source of capital accumulation and to extend the working day. Haitian workers in Brazil lack bargaining power and this has empowered employers to negotiate or impose modalities of super-exploitation on them. The third section focused on the intensification of labour as a modality of super-exploitation. It unveiled strategies that employers use against Haitians on a daily basis to intensify their efforts in the workplace such as labour surveillance, racial offences and illegal punitive measures. Thus, these practices have shaped the super-exploitation of Haitians in their workplaces as well as supporting strategies of production in sectors which are essential to Brazil's development model. The analysis of employment relationships, in turn, have shown that the power relations between Haitians and their employers are so asymmetrical that they dramatically constrain the choices of workers. The formalisation of flexible employment arrangements extends the vulnerability of workers in all stages of the employment relationship. It exerts a direct pressure on workers because Haitians are expendable for employers; Haitians remain in buffer zones as a temporary, easily replaceable and cheap source of labour. While flexible arrangements and super-exploitation may affect a large contingent of Brazilian workers, the specific struggles of Haitians for social reproduction become extra sources of oppression. This represents a key dimension of Haitian super-exploitation and indicates why their chances for social transformation lie in other forms of resistance which frequently occur outside the workplace as will be explored in the following chapter.

# 6.Haitian Networks and Transnational Community Relations

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed the relationship between employer strategies and the super-exploitation of Haitian workers. The narrative of Haitians exposed the expansion of asymmetrical power relations between workers and employers in the context of the restructuring of production and the flexibilization of employment in Brazil. The complexity of these changes has led to working routines in which Haitians experience uncertainty and the increased porosity between formal and informal practices on an ongoing basis. The large supply of Haitian workers and their vulnerable position make them willing to accept the conditions required for super-exploitation in seasonal sectors because of their lack of alternative employment options. This chapter will explore another central dimension of Haitian super-exploitation: the transnational social reproduction of Haitian workers. It will address research question three:

| |
|---|
| R3 - To what extent does the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants relate to their transnational relations and strategies for better living conditions? |

To date, previous chapters have focused on the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants in relation to the Brazilian state and its local structures. Although the emphasis on the receiving country aligns with the traditional approaches in the literature on super-exploitation, this narrow theoretical focus obscures broader aspects of the social reproduction of international migrant workers: it encompasses their transnational practices which link them to their native country and to their communities of origin. Locating the transnational practices of Haitians within the political economy of Haiti is useful for understanding the evolving organisation of super-exploitation within chains of reproduction on a global level. It is in this sense that this chapter will argue that transnational network relations are a central dimension in which the super-exploitation of migrant workers is constantly formed, negotiated and contested in the 21st century. There are an increasing number of scholars who have offered structural analyses to contest the development-remittances nexus (De Hass;

2005; Hickey, 2016; Pellerin and Mullings**,** 2013**;** Phillips, 2009) and the role migrant networks play in it. Within its scope, this chapter endorses this perspective and sheds light on the meaning of south-south migration for Haitian workers. This chapter uses the concept of super-exploitation to interpret the strategic reproductive function of transnational relations among workers and their families within the advance of neoliberalism in southern countries. Haitians are inserted into complex structural arrangements which have shaped the emergence of social tension and conflicts in relation to the disproportionate responsibility of Haitian migrants to ensure the social reproduction of their communities. From a theoretical point of view, such an approach is critical to the conceptualisation of super-exploitation because it considers a variety of hierarchical ways in which the income of workers is below the amount necessary for their transnational social reproduction.

The main argument is that although networks are essentially supportive and fundamental for the social reproduction of Haitians, they become nevertheless exploitative in the structural context of super-exploitation. This is because the complex activities which Haitians must perform to support their communities are located within formal and informal enclaves that reinforce the vulnerability of these workers and ultimately shape the cost of their social reproduction. Findings show that transnational relations have increased the costs of the social reproduction of Haitians not only through ongoing remittance payments but also through broader structural processes that shape this dimension of their struggle. Examples include extremely low wages, unemployment, visa constraints, physical and psychological abuse, currency fluctuations and travel costs. Therefore, Haitians are inserted into complex structural arrangements which have challenged ordinary assumptions of network exchange and reveal the patterns of control which ultimately facilitates the subordination of Haitians to super-exploitation in their workplaces.

The chapter is organised in four sections: firstly, it discusses how the transnational migratory routes of Haitians to Brazil significantly elevate the costs necessary for their social reproduction. It describes forces that push Haitians to emigrate as well as the challenges for doing so. Although Brazil created the humanitarian visa for Haitians, the peripheral condition of these workers in the global markets subjects them to formal and informal strategies of value extraction (i.e. visa payments, extortions and travel costs). These elements have increased both the funds

Haitians require to emigrate and the economic reliance of these workers on the support of community networks. The outcome is that Haitians arrive in Brazil psychosocially and financially vulnerable to the local forms of labour exploitation.

Secondly, this chapter explores how the sending of remittance payments elevates the value Haitians require for their social reproduction. As a longstanding cultural and economic practice, the sending of transnational remittances is central to the social reproduction of Haitian migrants and their network members in Haiti. In Brazil, these practices of Haitian migrants have been severely constrained by the domestic super-exploitation of labour and Brazil's peripheral condition in the global market. Thus, in addition to expenses with remittances themselves, Haitians are under further pressure, caused by elements such as extremely low wages, an economic crisis, currency fluctuation and high transaction fees on remittance payments.

Thirdly, this chapter explores alternatives which Haitians have developed to alleviate these extra costs embedded in their transnational social reproduction. Haitians have used their networks to reduce the costs of their social reproduction and to negotiate the impact of local inequalities and forms of oppression in their social reproduction in Brazil. These everyday tactics of struggle have included the creation of new migration cycles and collective cultural arrangements as a political form of community organisation against the system of super-exploitation.

This chapter concludes by highlighting how the patterns of social reproduction of Haitians differentiate them from the ones conceptualised in the conventional literature on super-exploitation and migration. Haitian wages are insufficient to cope with the expenses of the transnational social reproduction of Haitian workers, leading to pauperisation rather than economic development. In addition to the local living costs in Brazil, Haitians experience further pressure because of the need to send remittances to their network members and to transfer a part of their wages to state and non-state actors which are an ongoing element of Haitian transnational lives. Therefore, the transnational dimension is then presented as an element in which formal and informal mechanisms emerge to reaffirm the peripheral condition of Haitians and to subordinate them to the super-exploitation of labour.

## 6.2 Transnational journeys and peripheral migrants

> I spent more than 10.000 reais to arrive here [in Brazil] so any work that I found I took it because I needed to make money. When I arrived, I only found jobs in the civil construction [sector].
>
> Emmanuel Guerriero, 32 years old, Haitian

The narrative of Emmanuel sheds light on the crucial links between the cost of migratory journeys and the subordination of Haitians to super-exploitation in the workplace. Although Haitians have been granted a humanitarian visa in Brazil, Haitian routes to arrive in the country are marked by high expenses with visas, transportation, extortions, abuses and multiple border crossings. The underlying costs which have emerged from transnational hierarchies in the governance of migration shows how the geographical movement of Haitians has not only initiated their migratory journeys, but also the formation of super-exploitation. While the cost of social reproduction is increased, Haitians are by no means compensated for these extra expenses. This first section discusses how these formal and informal elements have articulated a position of vulnerability for Haitians which has impacted on advance stages of their employment experiences.

Beyond the history of Haitian migration to Brazil, Haitians have made emigration a long-standing strategy to mitigate the structural challenges they face in Haiti. High emigration rates in Haiti are closely linked to the material process of production. Traditionally dependent on small scale farming, the local population has been affected both by environmental issues (i.e. desertification, climate change, erosion), and by mechanisation and competition problems (i.e. dumping techniques in North American markets) (Dupuy, 2014). This has not only increased the cost of agricultural production and basic items such as food, but also cost many Haitians their jobs. This scenario has expanded the discrepancy between the wages of Haitians and the costs of their social reproduction in Haiti. The outcome is a fast and massive emigration from rural areas to other countries or urban areas in Haiti – mostly specific to Port-au-Prince, the national capital and by far the most populous city in the country.

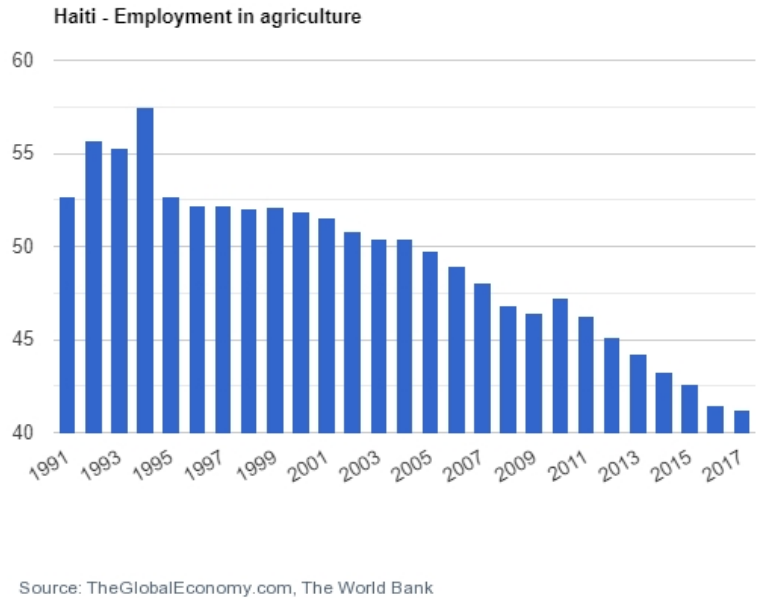


Figure 6.1: Employment in agriculture (The Global Economy, 2018).

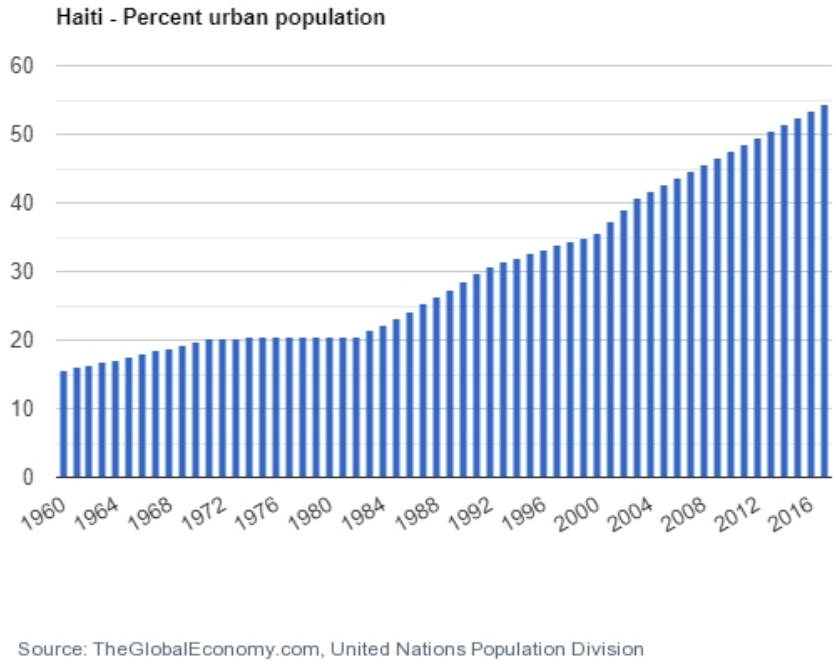


Figure 6.2: Urban Population in Haiti (The Global Economy, 2018).

In urban areas, a large portion of the working class is burdened by the local citizenship model. They lack very basic services such as proper health, housing and education, while others are destined for extreme poverty and have no access to a regulated electricity service, sanitation or clean drinking water (World Bank, 2018). A

problem for a country which experience high fertility rates and extreme poverty. Employment is also a serious issue with several workers facing unemployment and, foremost, sub-employment – in which they do not have access to minimum wages, formal contracts or any kind of job security. Local wages have been the lowest in Latin America and one of the lowest in world, with workers earning less than four and a half dollars for an eight hour-shift (Fair Labor Association, 2014; Worker Rights Consortium, 2013). While these wages make the local elite and multinational companies very competitive in the export of commodities to regional markets, they impose several challenges for the survival of the local population (Dupuy, 2014). As a result, Haitians have attempted to sell their labour abroad and, subsequently, to send remittances to their families and close friends at home. This situation has only escalated since the 2010 earthquake, in which the destruction of the country and the neoliberal legacy of the humanitarian mission has been insufficient to create decent jobs and living conditions for local citizens (Dupuy, 2014; Seguy, 2014).

The development and expansion of this system in Haiti has created further social tensions leading to emigration. As in many other peripheral countries (Philips 2009), one response of the Haitian state has been to incentivise emigration to export the massive supply of labour which the country is unable to incorporate into the domestic labour market (discussion in the following section), while making profit from doing so and alleviating social tensions at the same time. As a consequence, almost 20% of the Haitian population is living abroad (World Bank, 2018), including more than 75% of the skilled population – those who have higher education qualifications (Jadotte and Ramos, 2016). In particular, emigration is vital for Haitian youth – who represents more than 50% percent of the local population but have consistently experienced unemployment rates of over 35 % – compared with the average of 14% for the population as a whole during the last two decades (World Bank, 2018). This structural trend creates a pattern of social reproduction in which international migration has become a ritual for young Haitians.

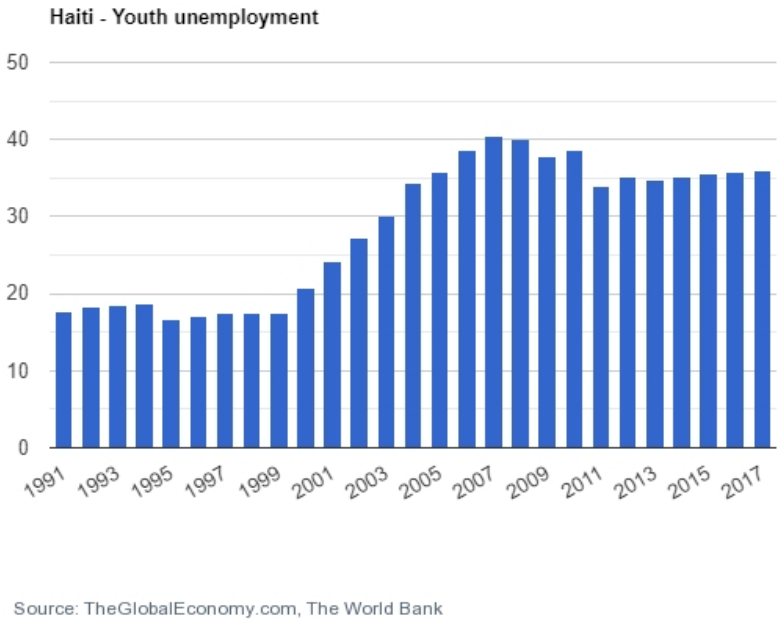


Figure 6.3: Youth unemployment (The Global Economy, 2018).

However, this pattern of transnational social reproduction includes costs which are unaffordable for the majority of individuals in the local population. Despite the high demand for Haitian labour and Humanitarian rhetoric in Brazil, Haitians must afford by themselves the full costs of their migration. The overall cost of their journeys is between 2000 to 5000 US dollars. By themselves, the distance and the lack of residency agreements between Brazil and Haiti make the cost of travel and visas higher for Haitians than for the main migrant communities in Brazil – who are mainly from South American countries. However, the costs of Haitian migration are beyond ordinary travel expenses. In addition to formal costs with travel and visas, the informal practices of other social actors (i.e. smugglers and police officers) have commodified the pathways of Haitians to Brazil. Following a trend in the neoliberal era, migratory journeys have become the point of convergence for formal and informal expenses, such as extortion and violence, which have drastically elevated the costs Haitians require for their social reproduction.

The dissimilarities of values between the low wages in Haiti and the high costs of Haitian migration to Brazil have created further challenges for Haitians. Although there are important variations in their profiles and in the levels of education of Haitian migrants, they all share a similar social class condition. Most come from a lower middle

class in Haiti, which shapes their ambitions and strategies (Bourdieu, 2013), but prevents the vast majority from being able to afford the costs of emigration by themselves. Unable to comply with these financial exigencies, Haitians have engaged in several activities to make emigration possible, including selling all of their personal property, the use of network alliances and the use of alternative routes to arrive in Brazil. As regards the migratory routes, new pathways aim to alleviate the expenses of their journeys towards Brazil. However, while the financial cost of the migratory journeys may decrease with these alternative pathways, other political, psychological and physical costs have arisen.

The experiences of Haitians can be summarised in three main pathways: Haiti-Acre-São Paulo, Haiti-Ecuador-Brazil and Haiti-São Paulo/Brazil. The following narratives illustrate the typical challenges of these journeys and their impact on the social reproduction and on the subordination of Haitians (see Figure 6.1 below).

As previously mentioned in Chapter 5, the entry through Acre was the first pathway taken by Haitians coming to Brazil. These itineraries take from two to six weeks, and cost between 3500 and 5000 US dollars. Their journeys towards the Brazilian state of Acre have required Haitians to cross several borders by hidden and dangerous routes to avoid detention in neighbouring countries. As peripheral workers, Haitians are subject to immigration constraints in the vast majority of countries in the region. However, to escape those restrictions Haitians are often pushed to other forms of informal regulation: corrupted police officers and smugglers have taken advantage of this situation. Haitians have suffered a wide range of abuses during these journeys, such as starvation, extortion, kidnapping, torture, and rape. Some have been even killed.

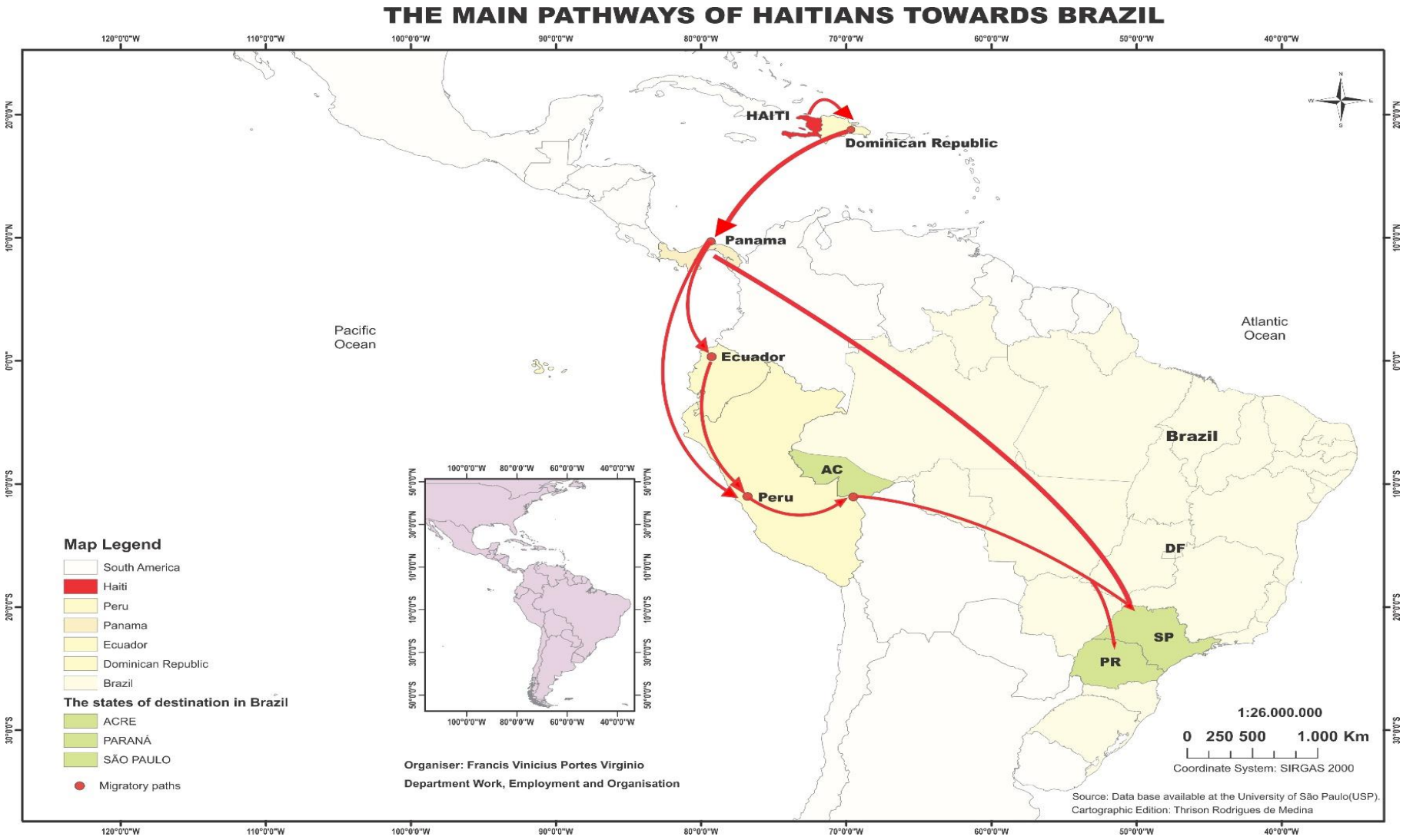


Illustration 6.1: The Main Pathways of Haitians towards Brazil.

Although it remains the most dangerous route to Brazil, many Haitians have continued to opt for this Acre journey because it is their only viable option. This is the story of Emmanuel Guerriero, who decided to go to Acre because he was unable to afford the costs of an alternative route. He aimed to pass unnoticed by smugglers. Nevertheless, he was found and beaten by a police officer who tied him to a tree and stole all his money. Emmanuel managed to overcome this situation and arrived in Acre, but he did so in an extremely vulnerable position. As Emmanuel's quote showed at the beginning of this section, this experience pushed him to accept any kind of job that he could find. The outcome of Emmanuel is similar to that of many other Haitians, which has thus contributed to the humanitarian crisis in Acre and the super-exploitation of Haitians in the labour market (see other finding chapters).

Over time, other pathways have emerged, but they have also come with both extra financial costs and waiting time. The complexity of these economic costs, nevertheless, has revealed the participation of new social actors in these alternative routes. As Andre Martineau explains when describing the journey to Acre:

> People are crossing the borders, risking their lives. While some have died, other some have been hurt. All these things [happened] because they must pass through woods, in the middle of the forest. Because it was taking too long to get their visas or because they didn't have these 3000 dollars.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

The '3000 dollars' Andre Martineau refers to is the visa application in Haiti, which has shaped the second main pathway for Haitians coming to Brazil. Following the humanitarian crisis in Acre, Brazil set up the humanitarian visa for Haitians to contain irregular migration and the network of smugglers on Acre's border. Consequently, this formal regulation has shaped a new trajectory as the federal government requires Haitians to apply beforehand for their humanitarian visas in Haiti. To do so, Haitians should have a passport and pay 200 dollars for their visas in the Brazilian consulate in Porto Principe, Haiti's capital city. On the surface, this seemed to solve the problem of those who could afford these costs. However, the high demand created an enormous queue at the consulate. Afraid of missing the window of opportunity to migrate to Brazil, some Haitians have continued to use the Acre journey.

Although the Brazilian consulate has successively increased the number of visas issued per month, this has been insufficient. As Andre Martineau explains:

> In Haiti, there is an enormous queue which is equivalent [to the distance] from here to the city centre. To give you an idea, there are people sleeping in front of the embassy, while waiting to get an appointment for the next day.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

More significantly, this climate has allowed the emergence of new forms of authority and commodification in Haiti. Several Haitians described how they were subjected to extortion by smugglers in the consulate area in order to obtain their visas. While some Haitians have been unclear about the involvement of the Brazilian consulate itself, they all highlighted the critical influence of smugglers inside the consulate as Haitians have been unable to book appointments for visa applications without the illegal payment of amounts up to 2000 dollars. As Pierres Exy explains:

> It was not easy to obtain a visa. There were many people applying for it. So I spent a lot of money to obtain a visa. It is hard to enter into the consulate, into the embassy. It is necessary to have an appointment, but to get this appointment people ask for money. Honestly, I paid 2000 dollars [American dollars] to get my visa. I paid because it was hard to get one.
>
> Pierre Exy, 49 years old

Like many others, Andre Martineau and Philiphe Pascal, who live in the states of São Paulo and of Paraná respectively, corroborate this information in their interviews. Andre insinuates: 'Who is selling them [the visas], who is authorised to do so if Haitians themselves are not authorised to offer visas? This is a business that started there inside [at the consulate]'. Philiphe Pascal, in turn, highlights that smugglers control the surrounds of the Brazilian consulate, so Haitians must pay to apply for their visas:

> The problem is that they are doing business at the consulate. They are selling the visa more expensive. There are people paying 1000 dollars [for the humanitarian visa] in Haiti (…). To enter into the embassy, you will spend a lot because you cannot pass the entry without doing so. Then you spend money. This is the problem because people have to buy their visas.

Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old

Finally, the third main pathway has been through Ecuador. The critical scenario in Haiti has pushed the Brazilian state to issue humanitarian visas to Haitians through Brazil's consulate in Ecuador, a country which imposes the softest immigration restrictions in Haitians. This alternative in Ecuador has allowed Haitians to reduce the challenges of the Acre pathway as the humanitarian visa permits their travel directly from Ecuador to other regions in Brazil. To enter Ecuador, Haitians must apply for a tourist visa, which requires the payment of 30 dollars and proof of other 400 dollars per month of stay.

The official position of the Brazilian state is that this measure aims to regulate the entry of Haitians into its territory and prevents the action of smugglers. This has allegedly reduced the costs of Haitian migration to approximately 2000 dollars, since Haitians no longer need to pay sums to smugglers and police officers. On the other hand, this solution has also led to other extra financial costs. Haitians must apply for their visas in Ecuador, where they must wait between three and six months for their visas. Nevertheless, these migrants are denied permission to work in Ecuador (Constante, 2015) while they remain in the country. This has put further economic pressure on Haitians to cover their living costs and, on their families, who depend on the remittances of Haitians abroad to survive (further discussion in the next session). In the context of these further debts, Haitians have created their own alternatives to circumvent these challenges. The narrative of Philiphe Pascal explains his strategies for survival while waiting for his visa:

> You needed 1000 dollars to enter Ecuador as a tourist [to obtain a tourism visa]. I had this friend who lent me 1000 dollars. Once I was in Ecuador, I sent these 1000 dollars back to him, so he can come as well. In Ecuador, I worked [informally] every other day while waiting for my visa. One week I was working, in the other I was not. Thank God I was working until I got my visa because it took five months (…).
>
> Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old

The consequences of these extra costs are the increased relevance of network members to alleviate the costs of the migrants' journeys. For most Haitians, social networks have been responsible for lending them the sums needed for their migratory

journeys to Brazil. One example is the narrative of Toussaint Duprés, who in addition to working in Ecuador to maintain himself, obtained 2000 dollars from family members:

> I believe I spent approximately 2000 dollars. I had 500 dollars that came from my own pocket, which I saved from my work. Then my uncle lent me $600. And my mum and my daddy got me $400 because my mum sells stuff and my father is a peasant. He works with the land and sells some of the stuff he makes. He got me 200 dollars. And my mum, she also got me a suitcase because she sells clothes. She packed my suitcase. So, it was not that hard for me because, thank God, I had a group of people that believed in me.
>
> Toussaint Duprés, 28 years old

This form of community mobilisation also resonates with the narrative of Stevenson Chaumeille, who has found support from family and friends to migrate to Brazil:

> I had many people, – friends, family too – who helped me arrive here. I told them: I'm going to leave, I'm going to Brazil, I'll try to study so my life will become better. Without hesitation, they gave me money. With that to help me, I gathered all I had and came here.
>
> Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old

Commonly, the narrative of network support represents different kind of social actors and ties among network members. For instance, the support of network has also referred to the explicit acquisition of debts and loans with informal moneylenders or even private banks. The inability of Osse Mondestin to obtain the whole amount from family and friends pushed him to obtain the additional sum required to migrate from a local Bank in Haiti. Joseph Derestil, in turn, had his father borrowing money from a moneylender so Joseph could become the first of his family to migrate and seek a better future abroad:

> People told me to come and I came. But I didn't have the money. I told my father I was going [to Brazil]. (…) He asked me if I had money, I said that I had but that it wasn't enough. So, I asked him what he was going to do. He told me he was going to borrow money for me. Then his friend lent some money to me.
>
> Joseph Derestil, 25 years old

This series of examples showed how the emigration of Haitians relates to extra costs for their social reproduction. The current influence of formal and informal actors in neoliberal migration regimes shape social hierarchies and add extra pressure on peripheral workers. Both, the low wages Haitians receive in Haiti and the expense of their journeys present a critical challenge for their social reproduction. The emergence of Haitian networks as supportive actors is central to allowing Haitians to migrate and cope with these conditions and to struggle for their social reproduction in Brazil. On the other hand, these reproductive relationships are complexified once Haitians arrive in Brazil and switch roles: they must deal with the payment of the debts of their migratory journey and foremost with the expectations of network members on receiving remittances. In what follows, this chapter explores different aspects in which networks and transnational relations shape the social reproduction and the super-exploitation of Haitians.

### 6.3 Transnational networks and remittances from the periphery

This section will describe the relationship between economic remittances and the super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil. It is argued that the sending of economic remittances, as a transnational practice, increases the sum required for the social reproduction of Haitian workers. Thus from a theoretical standpoint their wages should be sufficient to cope with this need for remittances for their network members in Haiti. Findings shows that not only are the wages of Haitians insufficient for their transnational social production but also that the shared peripheral condition of Haiti and Brazil adds further difficulties for migrants. Elements such as extremely low wages, sudden economic stagnation, currency fluctuation and bank fees have interacted in such a constrained way that they have flattened the remittance payments of Haitians, increasing pressure from network members. These elements have complexified the ways in which Haitians experience transnational network relations, showing how networks can assume a coercive role in the decisions of Haitians in the labour market. These findings challenge, economically and symbolically, simplistic

assumptions of network exchange and move the focus to the interdependent relations between the conditions of reproduction and labour exploitation.

The increasing amount of remittance payments towards southern countries recasts the form through which international migration relates to the social reproduction of workers. As previously shown in the literature review, the notion of social reproduction is not only an economic but also a cultural practice which depend on historical patterns of labour capital relations (Marx, 2011). Because employment, social benefits and citizenship rights fail to provide Haitians with minimum conditions for survival, these workers are going abroad to support their families and communities. It is in this sense that the transnational pattern of social reproduction is critical to exploring super-exploitation. The contemporary capitalist and neoliberal states have presented *migrants* as *heroes* of development to overshadow state failures in assuring fundamental rights for their citizens (De Hass, 2005; Hickey, 2016; Philips, 2009). International migrant workers, in turn, are increasingly dependent on the sending of remittances to provide for their families. These foreign workers have used structural inequalities in their favour (i.e. higher wages or favourable currency rates) by massively fuelling peripheral economies with remittances to ensure the survival of their families and other network members.

The sending of remittance payments has been a historical practice in Haiti. As economic difficulties in Haiti escalate, personal remittances have been the main expression of solidarity among Haitian networks across borders. The wages of workers in Haiti are not only incompatible with the costs of Haitian migration to Brazil, but also the cost of social reproduction in Haiti. Most remittance payments have been sent from developed countries which have traditionally been places of residency for the Haitian community abroad, such as the United States, Canada and France. Between 1998 and 2016, the total value of remittance payments Haitian migrants sent to Haiti increased from 327 million dollars to 2.356 billion dollars (World Bank, 2018). So significant is this sum that remittances currently represent 33,6 percent of Haiti's gross domestic product (GDP) (see Figure 6.2 below), which makes Haiti the second most dependent country in the world on remittance payments (Orozco, 2018). Moreover, the impact of remittances on the local GDP in is higher than other important sectors such agribusiness (21.9%) and industry (20.8%) (CIA, 2016).

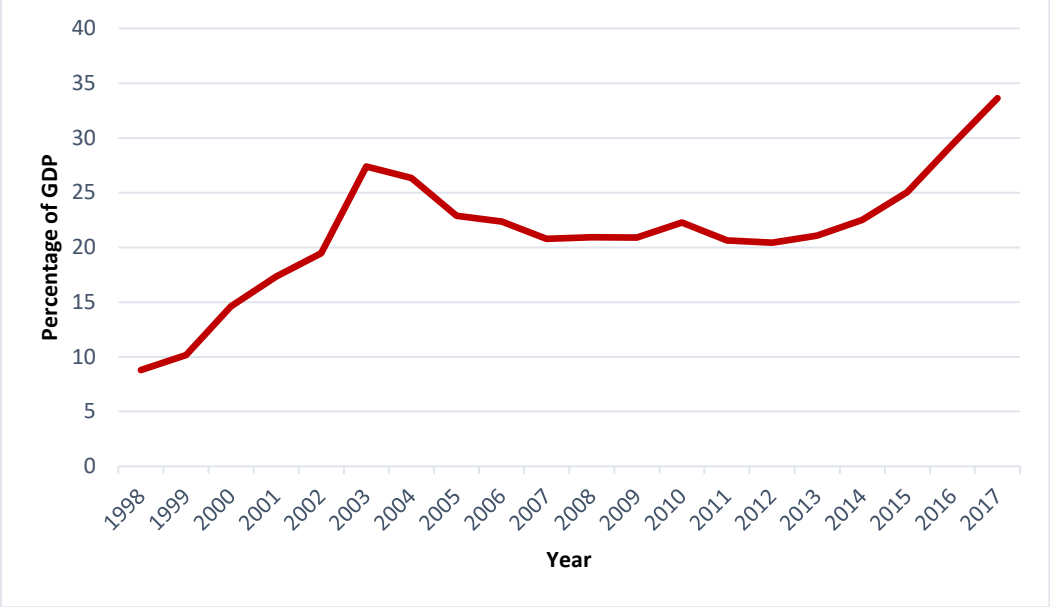


Figure 6.4: Personal remittance inflows as percentage of Haiti's GDP adapted from (World Bank, 2018).

> Haitians that are here [in Brazil] must send money abroad. Those who are abroad must help Haitians who are still at home. This is how the diaspora works in Haiti. If you have a brother abroad, it's as if he were your mother because he will send money to Haiti.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

The narrative of Andre Martineau provides a clear explanation of the ingrained role Haitian migrants have played in Brazil. The sending of personal remittances has been an essential strategy for allowing Haitian people to survive despite political turmoil, endemic poverty, economic stagnation and environmental disasters in Haiti.

Over time, the sending of remittances has become more than simply an economic practice. It also relates to political and cultural aspects of the Haitian community (Handerson, 2015a; 2015b; Orozco, 2006). Although this has not been a gendered role in the broad Haitian community (IOM, 2017; Orozco, 2006), the sending of remittance payments from Brazil has usually been played by Haitian men aged between 20 and 40 years old in Brazil – which indicates a relationship with the kind of jobs available for Haitians in Brazil, as has been explored in this thesis. Haitians describe the sending of remittances as a form of solidarity and a characteristic of Haitian identity. Haitian migrants have often been responsible for the social reproduction of multiple network members in Haiti. Haitian migrants must cover,

partially or entirely, the living costs of beneficiaries who are mostly their extended family and close friends. As a result, the transnational pattern of reproduction increase the amount Haitians require to survive once they are living and working abroad.

The successful emigration of Haitians to Brazil has provided them with not only new opportunities but also obligations in relation to other network members. Having previously benefitted from the emotional and financial support of their networks, Haitians are expected to now reciprocate and send remittances to Haiti. Both of these symbolic and economic elements are critical to building Haitian subordination to their working and living conditions in Brazil. The narrative of Jonassaint Fanor summarises this rationale:

> My mum and other members of my family don't work. I must help them. To help them, whoever can pay to help them must go to work in another country. (…) Haitians leave their country with the aim of helping other Haitians. It is not like other nations. Haitians leave to help their families in Haiti. Do you understand that?
>
> Jonassaint Fanor, 34 years old

In addition to these interpersonal relationships, Haitians were motivated by macro conjunctural transformations. Since Brazil was experiencing relatively prosperous growth in relation to other peripheral countries, Haitians could not only access more job opportunities, but also increase the remittances they sent back to Haiti. This rationale is attached to a favourable currency rate, which made the exchange value of Brazilian wages higher than wages in other peripheral countries. For example, the narrative of Philiphe Pascal illustrates the relationships between remittances and macro-economic changes. He was previously living in the Dominican Republic, but he decided to move to Brazil based on the favourable currency exchange rate between the Brazilian real and the US dollar:

> I had a friend who was in Santa Catarina [Southern Brazil]. He told me that if I came to Brazil, I would make more money; because the dollar was too low. I was earning 26,000 [pesos], which was the equivalent of almost 600 dollars. So, if I came to Brazil, I could make up to 1,000 dollars. I was thinking about a better future for my son and wife.
>
> Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old

The above narratives demonstrate the centrality of remittances in shaping the decisions of migrants. However, these expectations as well as idealisations about Brazil (see Chapter 4) were formed based on previous migratory experiences to central countries and cultural habits of Haitians, rather than on their reality in the country of destination. In Brazil, their experiences have been rooted in the super-exploitation of labour and Brazil's peripheral condition in the global market. For Haitian workers, this means that the proportion of their wages they had planned to transfer to Haiti is instead an extra source of capital accumulation for other local and international social actors. From this perspective, the understanding of how Haitians experience this structural dynamic requires a more nuanced view of the transnational social reproduction in the periphery. A useful point of departure is both the symbolic and economic effects of low wages on network exchange.

The transnational social reproduction of Haitians requires the maintenance of at least two households. All Haitians interviewed for this study highlighted that their remittances aim to cover everyday expenses such as living costs, health or the education of their children – as previously mentioned, these are basic social rights which are not ensured in Haiti. The use of remittances only reinforces the notion that the economic exchange among network members aims to ensure the survival of their communities, in Haiti, rather than becoming a solid source of local development. Nevertheless, despite this restricted purpose, the extremely low wages of Haitians and conditions of employment in Brazil (see Chapter 5) prevent them from regularly sending money back to Haiti. As a result, the frequency, number and the amount of remittances fluctuate according to the migrant's income and employment.

Philiphe Pascal illustrates this issue from an economic perspective. The costs required to ensure the social reproduction of his family abroad has put further pressure on his income. He has been in Brazil for almost a year and a half. In addition to his emotional suffering, the separation from his family has played a central role in increasing the sum necessary for his social reproduction:

> I have saved nothing in Brazil. I have not recovered the money that I spent to come here. Maybe I got it, but I have spent it on my family. If my family were here, the money that I am making now would have been enough. But I am spending money here and in Haiti, my wife and my children are spending money. The money that I am making now is not enough.

Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old

However, as he continues, he demonstrates how potential alternatives are entangled with other transnational challenges. His narratives bring together the perpetuation of remittances with the costs of transnational migration:

> I cannot bring them here because it is too expensive. (…) How can one Haitian like me, who has five children, afford to spend $300 for each visa? $300 for six people, it will be more than $1500. I cannot even save $100 dollars each month! How can I save 1800 dollars?

Philiphe Pascal, 27 years old

Symbolically, findings also demonstrate that the low wages Haitians receive have also challenged the close sense of solidarity among network members. Haitian migrants are expected to provide for their network members. Andre Martineau complains about this pressure: 'the perception of Haitians who go to Brazil is that they make good money so they must send money there [to Haiti]'. Nevertheless, their low salaries often prevent them from fulfilling this role. In Brazil, Stevenson Chaumeille struggles for survival and to send remittances. His narrative indicates a strong feeling of moral coercion has emerged to match the expectations of network members. However, Stevenson has been frustrated and his struggle to survive has become his priority, which has created tensions between him and network members:

> But these people that helped me are expecting something in return, they are expecting something back from me. Unfortunately, here, I cannot offer it. I work here. I earn 900 reais. I have difficulties helping my friends and family, who are expecting something back. They doubt every time I tell them that I can do nothing for them because I have no money. They think: 'Is that true?'

Stevenson Chaumeille, 35 years old

More broadly, there are other structural elements which are less visible but equally decisive in putting further pressure on workers. Over the last three decades, remittances have been a profitable market worldwide. The average global fee on remittance payments has been 2.5 percent, which means that migrants lose approximately 90 billion dollars, mostly in fees to transnational companies (World

Bank, 2018b). These fees are predominantly for sums sent from migrants in central countries to a peripheral country of origin.

Sending money from one peripheral country to another is an even harder task for Haitians since their practices are inevitably integrated within the global market, reaffirming their peripheral condition and super-exploitation. Likewise, there is a significant part of the remittances of Haitians in Brazil which has been a source of capital accumulation. Over the last two decades, migrant remittances from Brazil to other countries have increased by 1000% (World Bank, 2018). This means that the Brazilian remittance market is increasingly profitable for both the state and non-state actors. In Brazil, Haitians must pay the federal government, an extra tax of 0.4 percent of their total remittances to Haiti (World Bank, 2018). This is in addition to the regular public taxes. More importantly, Haitians must transfer a part of their remittances to transnational exchange companies (i.e. Western Union and Money Gram). In total, Haitians must pay between four and nine percent of the remittance amount for each transaction, depending on the sums involved and on the serviced hired. These are charged in the form of regular fees and in hidden fees based on the exchange-rate margins of these companies.

Finally, Haitians have also been peripheral migrants in the currency exchange organised by these companies. Unlike other migrant communities in Brazil (i.e. Paraguayan, Bolivian and Peruvian communities), Haitians are unable to directly transfer money to their own currency. They must send American dollars to their families and friends who subsequently exchange their money for Haitian gourde, the local currency in Haiti. This double process almost duplicates the charges on the remittance amount.

The economic crisis in Brazil has only aggravated this transference of Haitian remittances to forms of capital accumulation. Not only has this crisis impacted on Haitian wages and jobs opportunities, but it has caused a severe devaluation of the Brazilian currency in relation to the US dollar. Following the economic turmoil in Brazil, one of the government's strategies has been to sharply devaluate the local currency, which has aimed to mitigate the depreciation of commodity value and improve Brazil's trade position at the international level.

However, this strategy has a catastrophic effect on the exchange rate of Haitian remittances from Brazil. As mentioned earlier, the positive exchange rate has been

essential to ensuring the social reproduction of their network members. On average, Haitians must send between 100 and 200 dollars a month to ensure the survival of their families. Between 2012 and 2013, when most of Haitians arrived in Brazil, the exchange rate was approximately of two reais, which means Haitians needed an amount equivalent to between 200 and 400 reais. Since the economic stagnation, the currency has escalated up to almost four reais (including company fees), making it impossible for them to remit money to their network members in Haiti with their regular wages (see table 6.1).

| Year | US Dollar | Brazilian Real |
|---|---|---|
| 2011 | $1.00 | R$1,587 |
| 2012 | $1.00 | R$2,035 |
| 2013 | $1.00 | R$2,135 |
| 2014 | $1.00 | R$2,264 |
| 2015 | $1.00 | R$3,178 |
| 2016 | $1.00 | R$3,612 |

Table 6.1: The exchange rate between real and US dollar without company fees adapted from (FinanceOne, 2018).

The outcome is that, over the last five years, the value of their remittances has been decreased by 60% due to structural changes and the value extraction by state and non-state actors in Brazil. Meanwhile, both countries, Haiti and Brazil, have experienced severe economic inflation which has increased the living costs of the local populations (Haiti Libre; 2017; IMF, 2017). Jean Baptiste summarizes the negative effect of this change on Haitian remittances:

> When I arrived here, the dollar was better. I remember that I sent money to my wife. The dollar was 2,25 reais. The salary was low, too low, but with 2,25 reais it was possible to do something. Then it started to increase, increase and increase… I think it's a bit over 4 reais now.
>
> Jean Baptiste, 36 years old

This narrative also resonates with the indignation of Andre, who proudly describes himself as the first Haitian to arrive in Brazil after the earthquake. For a few years, he was able to help with family and send remittances to his parents and bring his wife from Haiti. However, he says now he is the one that needs help from his family

to survive in Brazil.

> To buy 100 dollars now you spend more or less 400 reais. Just for 100 dollars! Then you have to pay for your home, food, water, electricity, internet…you can send nothing to Haiti. This disturbs us a lot. They [Haitians] do not have any opportunities; they are just surviving in Brazil. There is no dignity.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

Overall, this section showed how remittances have increased the costs of the transnational social reproduction of Haitians. In addition to expensive migratory journeys, Haitians must provide for their network members, which has not only prevented them from recovering the amount they spent to emigrate, but also added further pressure on their income. However, the economic and symbolic dimensions of network exchanges have overlapped with the structural elements of the periphery and super-exploitation of labour, making their struggle for decent living conditions even harder. In addition, the actions of other social actors, such as financial institutions –, and the lack of regulation of their fees/exchange rates, place further pressures on Haitian migrants. The following section pays attention to extra activities Haitians must engage in to ensure their transnational social reproduction. Despite being an extra source of pressure, networks have also provided forms of resistance and resilience for Haitians in Brazil.

## 6.4 Possibilities for resistance and resilience in Brazil

This section discusses the ways in which Haitians have used their network to ensure their transnational social reproduction in Brazil. To date, this chapter has examined how Haitian networks support Haitian emigration to Brazil, while also creating pressures for remittance payments. This means that networks have both increased and alleviated the cost of the social reproduction of Haitians. This section dives further in its analysis of this theoretical duality and focuses on the extra socio-economic activities in which Haitian must engage in to ensure this pattern of social reproduction.

In this context, findings show that Haitian networks remain critical to the elaboration of strategies for increasing income or reducing their living costs in Brazil. Examples vary from the sharing of expenses, attempts of organisation and the engagement in new migratory journeys. While workers have also used their networks to improve their living conditions, these attempts have been jeopardised by broader structural constraints.

The standard organisation of Haitian networks in Brazil has been based on the idea of sharing expenses. Haitians attempt to minimize their living costs so that they retain enough money to send financial remittances to Haiti. However, this practice is compromised by the wage gap between the national minimum wage and the real living wage, and by the morphology of Haitian employment in Brazil. One example, introduced in Chapter 4, is the strategy of shared accommodation. This is now further developed as this housing condition also relates the need for sending remittance payments to Haiti.

All Haitians interviewed have lived exclusively with other Haitian workers in Brazil. Haitian homes are in peripheral areas, poor conditions and often overcrowded. The option for co-habitation occurs between Haitians who do not necessarily know each other, but who are connected by their broader network. Haitian migrants in Brazil are men with family in Haiti that depend upon them and with precarious jobs in Brazil, which severely compromises their income (see Chapter 5). The co-habitation ensures certain economic protection for them to send remittances. As Andre summarizes:

> You will see that in a Haitian home you will not find just one Haitian living there. There are two, three, four, five people… people who are living together to share their expenses. Alone, Haitians cannot afford a life here and provide for their families in Haiti.
>
> Andre Martineau, 37 years old

As Toussaint Duprés explains, in addition to general cultural assumptions (i.e. shared language and networking), cohabitation occurs among Haitians rather than with other local workers because Haitians have a ‘common struggle’ and ‘help each other’. In this sense, the shared accommodation refers to a broader pattern of social reproduction which sustains a sense of solidarity among these workers. Network members are described as people who understand Haitian levels of hardship in their most basic ways. The narrative of Toussaint illustrates this dynamic:

> I used to live with five Haitians. Together, the five of us used to gather 50 dollars and buy groceries in the grocery shop to eat together. The 10 dollars that I had wasn't enough to eat, but I could eat when I gathered with my other four friends. We go out to work, earn some money and then we eat. We help each other this way.
>
> Toussaint Duprés, 28 years old

Another strategy that Haitians employ in Brazil is the expansion of their networks. Frequently, Haitians aim to alleviate the main aspect of their transnational struggles by reducing the sums necessary for remittance payments to people in Haiti. One way of doing this is by attracting new Haitians to work in Brazil. Emulating their own history, Haitian migrants have provided financial support to other community members at home to migrate to and work in Brazil. The arrival of other migrants allows Haitians to share their burden and to jointly support other community members in Haiti. As several Haitians are unemployed or sub-employed in Haiti as well as separated from family members, they are prone to emigrate,

The remaining challenge is thus to obtain the funds to cover migration costs. The recruitment of new migrants reinforces network strategies for cost-cutting and extra work (see Chapter 5) among Haitians who are involved in this transaction. Together, Haitians aim to collaborate with each other to diminish the structural oppression they suffer, both in Brazil and Haiti, and therefore to send sufficient remittance payments to their communities in Haiti. The narrative of Jean-Claude Tassy illustrates this argument. He struggles to ensure the social reproduction of his immediate family in Brazil while still providing for his expanded family in Haiti. Like many others, Jean-Claude says he will 'give the opportunity to someone else to come to Brazil' so that these new migrants can share the responsibility for sending remittances with him. As described below:

> I just helped my brother to enter [Brazil] so he helps me a bit. I believe that in a month I will also help someone else to come here because the responsibility is too much now. I will have three children now. It will be hard to help them [network members in Haiti] the way I used to.
>
> Jean-Claude Tassy, 29 years old

This rationale is also found in the narrative of Amiot Sanon. He lives under pressure to not only send remittances for his family in Haiti but also to pay for his father's debts in relation to Amiot's own migration. In this sense, his narrative puts together two key elements of Haitian networks and their struggle for their transnational social reproduction: the migratory journey and remittances. For him, the best way to improve his life is by sharing the responsibilities for sending remittance payments with other family members. As he explains:

> My life is to travel and help my family. I want to work to pay for what my father owns [debts with Amiot's migration] and to help my brother to come to Brazil. If he works here in a normal job, he helps me by earning 1000 reais and sharing accommodation. If he comes, he works, I work, and then, we bring another sister here [from Haiti]. We will help each other. It will be better. If I am here by myself it's hard because everything depends on me.
>
> Amiot Sanon, 42 years old

While the above strategies of Haitian workers have aimed to reduce the costs of social reproduction, other responses have intended to increase their wages and to improve their living conditions. A recurrent theme in their narratives is new migration cycles to other countries. The emigration rate has significantly increased since the Brazilian economic crisis began as this has led to massive unemployment for Haitian workers in Brazil. However, these new migratory routes are again shaped by cycles of capital flows in the region and the peripheral conditions of Haitian migrants in the global market. The main destination has been the United States where a new migratory journey means Haitians facing border controls, abuses, violence and other costs of migration which not all Haitians can either afford or experience again.

> Why would people come here and spend more than 4000 or 5000 dollars and stay six or seven months jobless and without someone that could come along? Why should I stay here? To die? I need to find a way to leave. I have called my family, everyone to help. I need money to go to Chile…
>
> Isaac Desliens, 42 years old

As Isaac Desliens highlights, many Haitians have gone to neighbouring Chile. In addition to Chilean economic growth, Haitians have strategically used their Brazilian humanitarian visa in their favour. The Chilean state has allowed foreigners to enter the

country with a Brazilian visa and an invitation letter (IOM, 2017; Sant'Anna and Prado, 2016). As Jean Claude Sylvestre, 28 years old, explains since the economic crisis began, many Haitians continue to come to Brazil solely to get a humanitarian visa and then to migrate again to Chile.

Gregory Féry also highlights his intention to go to Chile. He considers this new migration to be a new window of opportunity not only to increase his wages but also to reunite with his family. In Chile, Gregory is able to avoid the direct and foremost indirect costs of obtaining a Brazilian humanitarian visa (see section one), which has, to date, prevented him from bringing his family to Brazil. The challenges for their social reproduction, however, remain existents, as he explains:

> Many are going to Chile because it is easier there. You send a letter and your family comes. Many are not working there either. But family is the most important. [Many migrants spend] three or four years in Brazil and cannot bring their family. The visa in Brazil is not easy, with our salary we can only eat.
>
> Gregory Féry, 29 years old

A final aspect of Haitian network use is seen in their forms of resistance against super-exploitation. For the purpose of this chapter, the notion of resistance refers to the collective political strategies of Haitian networks which aim to challenge their super-exploitation. Networks have been of crucial importance for collective strategies among Haitians or in articulation with other workers in Brazil. Nevertheless, the inherent danger is that of Haitian political actions will be misunderstood and reduced to traditional forms of migrant network or working-class mobilisation. Instead, Haitian responses rest on their peripheral condition in relation to both of these categories, resulting in the emergence of cultural and citizenship struggles against domination and super-exploitation in Brazil.

On one hand, the current political scenario in Haiti makes inadequate the current understanding of resistance in migrant networks based on the economic and political development of their native countries (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003). In addition to the aforementioned limitations imposed by super-exploitation, the humanitarian intervention has left few or no opportunities for Haitian networks to engage in Haiti. The foreign control of Haitian territory – through government representatives, transnational NGOs and the militarisation of the country – has

constrained the formal and informal engagement of Haitian networks in practices of resistance in Haiti (Seguy, 2014).

On the other hand, the collective responses of Haitians to protest against their super-exploitation are also constrained in Brazil. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Brazilian citizenship model has if anything facilitated the super-exploitation of Haitians. Despite their humanitarian visas, Haitians have limited forms of actions due to a precarious welfare state, flexible employment regulations and the lack of settlement policies and their restrict access to citizenship status. This last limitation, in particular, has prevented Haitians from engaging in traditional forms of working class political action such as trade unionism, strikes, political participation, voting in public elections and taking part in public protests. Although outdated, the legislation continues to be used as a valid instrument of the state to intimidate, detain and deport immigrants (examples in Farias, 2014; Martins, 2016), shaping the silent struggle (Scott, 1998) of many Haitians despite their living and working conditions in Brazil.

This scenario has pushed Haitians to find alternative means of collective action against super-exploitation. Again, findings show that these actions aim to share with other Haitians the social and economic costs of their social reproduction. The opportunity realised by some Haitian networks has been the creation of Haitian cultural associations. In all different cities where fieldwork for this study was conducted and elsewhere in Brazil, Haitians have set up formal and informal cultural organisations in reaction to their peripheral condition. These organisations initially aimed to compensate for the lack of settlement polices for Haitians in Brazil.

Previous research undertaken with Haitian migrants has linked the resistance of Haitians, abroad and in Haiti, to the way they related to their culture. The successful history of Haitian struggle against imperial oppression and slavery has made their cultural history a source of pride and of mobilisation for Haitians rather than a source of oppression (Brodwin, 2001; Orozco and Burgess, 2011; Trouillot, 2009). In this sense, language, cultural habits and race are forms which have organised their struggle for better working and living conditions. Therefore, the cultural strategies must be understood based on their much broader links to the history of Haitian struggle (Lundy, 2011). This means that these cultural organisations are by no means just a product of Haitian struggle in Brazil because in the long run, they may concentrate on historical strategies of resistance to domination. However, this data is still preliminary,

and studies are required to further explore the potential these organisations offer to resistance in the medium and long term.

The main use of these associations are attempts to increase Haitian citizenship rights in Brazil. The focus is on integration polices and on obtaining full access to the existing welfare state. Moreover, by framing Haitian associations as a cultural organisation, Haitians have found a loophole in the local legislation that allows them to have a public political voice. This gives them the opportunity to participate in events and political discussions, sharing their struggle with the broader society. From the perspective of super-exploitation and the social reproduction of workers, further social rights represent higher indirect wages and a means to resist super-exploitation. Therefore, their ongoing cultural actions have intersected with their struggle for their social reproduction.

One example is the narrative of Evens Sainteus, 36 years old. He, along with four other network members, organised an informal cultural association in Maringá, Paraná. Despite being a cultural organisation, the association has been involved in political activities and in negotiations with local universities and the local government to ensure Haitians will have better access to social rights, as well as, better working conditions and more integrative public policies. Evens says that Haitian associations allow Haitians 'to grow without forgetting their culture'. For him, Haitians must be proud of their culture because Haitian culture 'is radical and the only one to defeat imperialism' […] 'Haiti is not a poor country, but an underdeveloped country' due to neoliberal policies and three foreign occupations.

This intersection between Haitian cultural practices and collective actions resistance resonates with the narrative of Magdaline Alcine and Michel Lapres. They have organised a Haitian cultural association in São Paulo. Michel argues that their association allow 'Haitians to continue practising their culture' and 'struggle against racism and discrimination'. In her comments, the culture-resistance relationship is evident. She argues Haitians are constrained in 'their political space' and 'should not have fewer rights than local workers'. This resonates with the narrative of Michel, who argues that their association aims 'to improve the lives of Haitians in Brazil, in their [access to] work, education, and health services'. In this sense, the association seems to play a broader role in the facilitation and their struggle for increased social wages

(see Chapter 4) rather than on contesting the local system of super-exploitation. The narrative of Magdaline provides further evidence:

> This association is working to connect us with [Brazilian] society. People [Haitians] are disconnected from themselves, from their origins, even from society, even because of their working conditions, which force us to work the whole day. Integration is everything in a society: to go to college[...] to have documents or to learn a language, which is a barrier for us.
>
> Magdaline Alcine, 25 years old

In this sense, the focus of these associations has been on broader areas of Haitian social reproduction. This pattern expands traditional understandings of resistance against super-exploitation which focus on workplace dynamics, while also finding similarities with the strategies of other minority groups in Brazil (De Oliveira, 2003; 2006). A possible explanation for this tendency is the link between Haitians' and their lack of legal protection or access to the most basic rights in Brazil. The main limitation of these strategies is that they remain primarily attached to the Brazilian citizenship model, which, in contrast, draws on the assumption of the super-exploitation of labour (see Chapter 4). In other words, Haitians have struggled for equal rights in relation to other workers based on a model which has already been inadequate for the working class as a whole.

Another possible reason for this response is to avoid the direct confrontation with employers which may cost the jobs of Haitians and thus create further challenges for their social reproduction. In other words, the level of job insecurity and a large supply of Haitian labour jeopardize the bargaining power of these workers. One exception to this rule is a racial protest in a workplace in the state of São Paulo. As highlighted in Chapter 5, major companies have used discriminatory strategies to subordinate Haitians. In São Paulo, this led an improvised strike day organised by Jameson Thébaud, who was once described as the Haitian ambassador (see Chapter 5). He took action alongside other network members after a racial offence in his workplace. He called a company-wide strike of all Haitians thus causing a disruption in the activities of his company. As Jameson explains:

> There was this day that a manager arrived and called him (a Haitian) of n*****. Once this happened, I called all of the Haitians and said we were not going to work, we were going to leave this

> job. I said: they called him of a n*****. The day after, the employer treated us in a different way.
>
> Jameson Thébaud, 41 years old

On the other hand, this political strategy has contributed to the emergence of a new sense of solidarity. Haitian struggles against racial discrimination and super-exploitation have also resonated with those of other migrant communities in Brazil, which has shaped new alliances and collective notions of resistance among these workers. The narrative of Antoine Louis exemplifies this argument. He has worked alongside African migrants in Paraná to improve their living conditions in Brazil. As he explains:

> I have already talked with the Angolans coalition. I joined their group because we're struggling for African rights. I have an appointment with a deputy [from Londrina City Council] and then with the mayor to speak on behalf of the African people. Things are ugly not only for Haitians, but for all foreigners. But it is worse for those who are black foreigners, isn't that right?
>
> Antoine Louis, 25 years old

### 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the transnational reproduction of Haitians distinctly relates to process of super-exploitation. It has shown different aspects of the transnational conditions which have increased the challenges and, more specifically, the money Haitians require for ensuring their social reproduction. More broadly, the chapter has challenged the existing literature on migration and its insular perspectives on migrant networks and neoliberal notions of development, which have positioned migrant networks and their remittances as agents of development in peripheral countries (De Hass, 2005; Hickey, 2016; Philips, 2009). The experiences of Haitians unveil that the nature of network exchanges is largely dependent on structural dynamics rather than only defined by transactional interactions. This means that although Haitians share a sense of mutual solidarity with network members, this feeling underlies structural struggles which can subordinate these migrant workers to

labour exploitation rather than creating possibilities for economic empowerment. This is because Haitian networks are pushed to assume a mitigatory reproductive function in relation to broader structural issues both in Brazil and Haiti: low wages, economic instability, unemployment and the lack of social rights. The first section discussed how the high costs of migratory journeys and the neoliberal governance of migration regimes has impacted on the social reproduction of Haitians in Brazil. The second section showed that the working conditions of Haitians and the need for sending remittances has imposed varies inter-personal and structural pressures which challenges ordinary assumptions of network exchanges between Haitian migrants and their communities in Haiti. The third section explored how Haitian networks have served to support the transnational social reproduction of Haitians. They are linked to the main collective strategies of resilience and resistance Haitians deploy in Brazil, shaping new political and cultural alliances against super-exploitation. In doing so, this chapter has contributed to a more sophisticated notion of social reproduction when it comes to international migrants and how these reproductive aspects are challenged in the context of super-exploitation. As regards super-exploitation, while transnational aspects of social reproduction are not at the centre of the existing literature, it is clear that the process of border crossing impacts on socio-economic costs, meanings and social relations. Together, Haitians and their network members find themselves involved in complex reproductive-exploitative relations which reinforce their position of vulnerability and potential subordination in the Brazilian labour market.

# 7.Discussion and Conclusion

## 7.1 Research Aims and Rationale

The purpose of this study was to utilise new empirical evidence from contemporary migration flows in order to theorise the challenges that the south-south migration imposes on the understanding of economic development and employment regimes in Latin America. It was argued that a range of theories on migration rely disproportionately on studies of the political economy of developed countries and south-north migration, making them insufficient in accounting for the specific experiences of migrant workers in the region within developing countries in the Global South. These dominant theories are overly reliant on Keynesian welfare models and restrictive immigration policies in several developed countries as key regulatory mechanisms to drive migrant workers to precarious jobs in disproportionately high numbers. The problem with this perspective is that not only has migration management in peripheral countries been different, but also that those welfare characteristics of western economies are an exception in the history of capitalism; and ultimately lie outside both employment and living standards in peripheral countries such as Brazil (Stewart and Garvey, 2015). Although these socio-economic and working conditions are also an increasing reality in developed countries, the intersection between this structural organisation and historical features of peripheral countries (i.e. colonialism and underdevelopment) has created a specific configuration in the labour market that must be explored in a different manner. In order to redress this lacuna, the presented study took a multidimensional approach to investigate, understand and present the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in the 21st century Brazilian model for economic development.

Super-exploitation (Marini, 1973; 1978) was described as a much-needed analytical category which underpins the nature of capital-labour relations in Latin American states – referred to as peripheral countries. The conceptualisation rested on the historical conditions which have continuously organised/structured the peripheral

condition of both Brazil and Haiti in the global market and, at a local level set conditions for labour exploitation in these countries that have ensured that the wages are insufficient for their social reproduction. The prevalent definition of super-exploitation distinguishes it from 'regular forms of labour exploitation' by arguing that super-exploitation drives the wages of workers below the value of their labour power to an extent to which workers are unable to ensure their social reproduction with their wages. While this definition of super-exploitation remains technically accurate, it is under-theorised. This is because Marini focused on the exchange between nation states and general modalities of super-exploitation while under-analysing a set of social relations that allows super-exploitation to come into effect. This includes the central role local elites and their domestic systems of power (Fernandes, 1975; 2008; Grosfoguel, 2000; Latimer, 2016; Marini, 1973; Rodney, 2018) play in shaping the peripheral condition and the struggles of workers for their social reproduction in these countries. Moreover, the problem with this definition is that both employment and living conditions have continuously changed since 1970s, shaping the nature, structure and processes that lead workers to super-exploitation. As this thesis elaborates, the super-exploitation of Haitians relates to the flexibilization of employment relations and the struggle of Haitians for their social reproduction. In this sense, this thesis argues that super-exploitation constitutes a form of subordination comprised of a particular association of network, community and citizenship relations which allows capital to drive the wages of Haitians below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. These new boundaries of in-formality and re-production are central to navigating the theorization of super-exploitation in the 21st century.

Historically, the concept was elaborated to explain the dependency of peripheral countries on developed countries and the subsequent impact on the local working classes. This theoretical definition has been supported by an emerging literature that points to the rebirth of super-exploitation to explain contemporary employment relations. Despite considerable changes in the labour market over the last four decades, super-exploitation is what explains new patterns of labour and capital mobility in the transnational space. Both the outsourcing of production to peripheral countries as well as the migratory patterns of workers are outcomes of the systemic organisation of super-exploitation. Capitalism has reproduced itself by driving wages below the value of labour power, which has also been detrimental for

working conditions worldwide, allowing for the emergence of super-exploitation in developed countries (Marini, 2008). However, the notion of super-exploitation remains under-theorized as the existing literature draws upon more abstract definitions of the concept and does not explain distinctions, if they exist, between super-exploitation in developed and peripheral countries as well as the possible implications of the super-exploitation of international workers on the current theoretical understanding of this concept. Together, the focus on these elements is crucial to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that lead workers to super-exploitation and the alternatives that are available to them to transformation this reality.

This thesis has addressed these limitations by paying closer attention to dynamics between super-exploitation and the social reproduction of workers. This study offers a contemporary understanding of the daily struggle of Haitian workers in the periphery and grasps how dynamics inside and outside of the workplace shape the conditions for and of super-exploitation. In particular, the most innovative contribution of this thesis relates to the unrealised potential of a social reproduction approach to advance the understanding of super-exploitation. If the theoretical conceptualisation of super-exploitation is accurate, and the wages workers receive are driven below their labour power, workers must engage in a set of alternative social relations which allow the conditions for their social reproduction. Therefore, the role of social reproduction in the process of production, while crucial to the formation of super-exploitation, is hidden in the conventional analyses of this concept.

Such a theoretical approach becomes more complex because the social reproduction of migrant workers has been a focus of specific social tensions in contemporary capitalism. There is a solid literature on labour migration which has shown how the social reproduction of migrants has been distinctively affected by the governance of migration and structural inequalities. These elements may be seen in terms of employment opportunities, discriminatory rhetoric, immigration policies, citizenship rights and network relations. This thesis has called for a multidimensional approach to super-exploitation to provide a more refined approach to the links between the changing nature of employment and more complex forms of migrant labour exploitation in Brazil.

This focus has allowed the thesis to pay further attention to the acute regional inequalities between two peripheral countries and their respective domestic socio-economic and political structures to enable the super-exploitation of international workers. This approach not only provided a more accurate and relational understanding of class relations in Brazil but brought to light less visible crucial mechanisms shaping the everyday lives of Haitian workers which render them vulnerable to super-exploitation in the workplace. Key themes which emerged in the interviews with Haitians and the existing literature on migration informed the elaboration of a multidimensional analytical framework presented here, which captures these features of super-exploitation and their impact on the experiences of Haitian migrants in Brazil. These elements were addressed by three research questions:

R1 - How does the Brazilian citizenship model shape the super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil?

R2 - How does the super-exploitation of Haitian workers relate to the changing nature of employment and employer strategies in Brazil's new development model?

R3 - To what extent does the super-exploitation of Haitian migrants relate to their transnational relations and strategies for better living conditions? Relatedly, do the results here lead towards an elaboration of the concept of super-exploitation?

This thesis collected empirical data from semi-structured interviews with 42 Haitian migrants in Brazil. The focus on the experiences of Haitian workers in Brazil was selected for analysis given that these incorporate new political and economic elements that shape the processes of production and reproduction across the uneven geographies of development in Latin America. Haitian migration to Brazil was associated with south-south relations, also framed as win-win relations, and a rhetoric of humanitarianism in the aftermath of the 2010 environmental disaster in Haiti. Haitian workers rapidly became the largest migrant community in the local labour market and an extremely important supply of labour for the expanding labour-intensive sectors during Brazil's development model.

## 7.2 Overview of Findings

Findings on the research questions above were organised into three empirical chapters.

To address R1, Chapter 4 conceptualised the relationship between the wages Haitians received and their super-exploitation. This thesis used citizenship as an analytical category which determines key aspects of state-labour relations. This focus expanded predominant conceptualisations of super-exploitation by showing how it intersects not only with direct labour wages but also with the social rights and benefits workers (indirect wages) receive from the Brazilian state. Moreover, several studies on labour migration have shown that the restrictive access migrants have to citizenship status and to the local welfare system has impacted on their (income and social) wage and shaped their subordination to the most precarious jobs in the labour market (De Genova, 2002; 2013; De Giorgi, 2010; Goldring, Berinstein and Bernhard, 2009**;** McKay et al., 2009; Mezzadra and Nielson, 2013). The context was also important as the increase in wages and social rights was a central element in the 21st century Brazilian development model. Findings showed that the Brazilian citizenship model plays an important role in subordinating Haitians to super-exploitation. The result is a great dependence by Haitians on supplementary social arrangements to survive. While Haitians are granted the permission to stay and work in Brazil, their *peripheral incorporation* into this citizenship model exacerbates the vulnerability of Haitians to super-exploitation due a further deficit of social rights to address the specific their needs (i.e. language training and the validation of educational and professional skills).

However, in contrast to previous findings in the migration literature, here the subordination of Haitians occurs mainly through the inclusion of these workers into the Brazilian citizenship model instead of through their exclusion: spatial, socio economic, legal and racial exclusion are examples of how this happened. In the neoliberal citizenship regime implanted during Brazil's development model; consumerism assumes responsibility to ensure the basic needs of workers and mitigate class inequality, but the conditions of these workers in the labour market limit their

possibilities and increases their subordination. An explanation for these findings is that the Brazilian citizenship model is not a defining distinction (McGovern, 2012; Bauder, 2008) between Brazilian workers and Haitians but a mechanism which has sustained long-standing social inequalities and facilitated the subordination of the local working class to super-exploitation. In this sense, as new migrants entering the labour market, Haitians are extremely vulnerable to local social issues. Based on the experiences of Haitians, the chapter concludes that the Brazilian citizenship model fails to protect these migrant workers from the structural inequalities already crystallised in the Brazilian citizenship model.

To answer R2, Chapter 5 [re: buffer zones] focused on how Haitian experiences the employer strategies for super-exploitation in labour intensive sectors in Brazil. Previous studies have under-developed how the flexibilization of employment impact on super-exploitation and how this relates to the recruitment of foreign workers in labour intensive sectors. This focus is also motivated by the international literature on migration which has shown how employers have been empowered to deploy an obscure range of strategies in these changing nature of employment (Anderson, 2010; 2014; MacKenzie and Forde 2009; McGovern, 2012). It is in this sense that an analysis of the use, perception and implementation of super-exploitative practices against Haitian workers is a critical theoretical element to a deeper understanding of contemporary super-exploitation during Brazil's development model.

Findings show that the recruitment of Haitians has allowed for the expansion of regulatory boundaries in the rise of flexible employment relations in Brazil. The vulnerability of Haitians has brought together the features of more generic flexible employment relations with the specific struggle for their social reproduction. This means that, as peripheral workers, the struggle of Haitians outside the workplace made them natural candidates for super-exploitation in key development sectors, shaping their willingness to accept the worst working conditions in the agribusiness and civil construction sectors. The notion of *buffer zones* was elaborated to illustrate these links. The buffers constitute the formation of a social cordon – compose of geographical; occupational and citizenship struggles – around Haitians which limits their sphere of actions and circulation in the labour market. They became the gateway for Haitians into super-exploitative employment and modality of super-exploitation – intensification and extensification of labour. Findings also show that the vulnerability

of Haitians also relates to the morphology of their employment marked by a porosity between formal and informal practices, defined as *formalised informality*. This creates the opportunity for further disadvantageous employment relations: wage manipulation, wage defaulting, discriminatory offences and illegal punitive measures all become part of a broader strategy to ensure the compliance of Haitians to super-exploitation.

The chapter concludes by highlighting how *formalised informality* has increased the vulnerability of Haitians workers at all stages of the employment relationship which has ultimately facilitated their super-exploitation. To address R3, Chapter 6 conceptualised the relationship between super-exploitation and the transnational relations in which Haitians are involved. It aimed to expand the conceptualisation of super-exploitation by bringing together transnational elements which shape the social reproduction of international workers in contemporary capitalism. Conceptually, this chapter challenges conventional notions of social reproduction and descriptive studies which have focused on the migration-development nexus (Stojanov and Strielkowski, 2013; Thérien and Lloyd, 2000). Following an emerging number of structural analyses (De Hass, 2005; Hickey, 2016; Pellerin and Mullings, 2013; Phillips, 2009)**,** this chapter linked the experiences of Haitians to the struggle of their communities and family members for social reproduction.

Findings in this chapter show what the transnational migration of Haitians means for these super-exploited workers in the periphery. They showed that the transnational social reproduction of Haitians contributed to their subordination in the workplace rather than the economic development of these migrants and their communities. The chapter sustained this argument by exploring the financial amounts Haitian workers spent to emigrate and to send economic remittances to Haiti. In addition to the low income of Haitians, these practices were influenced by nationalised migration policies, inter-personal dynamics between network members and the economic features of peripheral countries, such as high inflation rates, and currency fluctuations. Starting with the decision of Haitians to emigrate from Haiti towards Brazil and continuing right up until their struggle for decent living conditions in Brazil, the interaction between Haitian migrants and their community networks exposed the specific forms of dependencies and alliances in which the transnational migration of Haitians is embedded in the periphery. On the other hand, the focus on Haitian

networks also illustrated how Haitians use their transnational networks and their culture to re-negotiate the impact of their peripheral condition on their everyday lives. These community strategies have oriented the Haitian experiences of resilience and resistance in Brazil. The chapter concludes by highlighting the complex role networks play in the experience of Haitians. The transnational relations between network members are affected by other social structures and actors, which constantly creates not only expressions of solidarity, but also further social costs and constraints.

Overall, findings sustain Marini's thesis of labour super-exploitation and show that the wages of Haitians are below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. Moreover, this thesis refines this concept by introducing new concepts which grasp the contemporary forms of super-exploitation: *peripheral inclusion*, *formalised informality*, and *buffer zones*. Applying this novel conceptual toolbox, the thesis details the mechanisms behind the super-exploitation of migrant labour and reiterates the theoretical currency of these overlapping multidimensional struggles to understand and challenge the roots of super-exploitation in contemporary capitalism.

### 7.3 Limitations of the study

This thesis focuses on the specific patterns of control which have led Haitians to super-exploitation. This specific focus is limited by nature and does not provide an exhaustive analysis of further analytical categories or broad structural organisation of labour exploitation in Brazil. This is because other social configurations may be necessary for explaining the super-exploitation of the rest of the working class in Brazil. Although many Haitian experiences may resonate with the rest of the working class in Brazil, this thesis should not be taken as a rigid model representing evidence of the struggles of all workers against super-exploitation. A comprehensive conceptualisation of the super-exploitation should explore the relationship between structural factors and the distinct social-cultural identities, life stories and motivations which shape the experiences of workers. As the narratives of Haitians have shown, social-cultural identities are not only important for community resilience but also for their strategies for resistance and social transformation. Therefore, a deeper understanding of super-

exploitation cannot be divorced from broader historical processes and ongoing social relations.

Moreover, research should also acknowledge other forms of oppression that intersect with migrants' nationalities, class, race and gender shaping the social reproduction of the working class in Brazil. In particular, more research is needed on the role gender plays. As an extensive feminist literature has shown, there are socially constructed differences between men and women which impact on the practices and processes of social reproduction. These social inequalities manifest themselves in very specific ways which connect women distinctively to several forms of political and economic oppression, labour exploitation and employment opportunities in contemporary capitalism. Unfortunately, the demographics of this data does not allow it to explore the diversity within the group and within the Haitian migrant community at large (i.e. gender, education, age, class position in Haiti). Therefore, it may not fully represent the experiences of a certain subset of the Haitian community which is always necessary to elaborate a comprehensive and integrative theoretical analysis of the working class. In particular, further research into the situation of Haitian women, who are increasingly arriving in Brazil, is necessary. The gendered male niches available for Haitians in the labour market have created further challenges for employment and for broad aspects of the social reproduction of migrant women, including unwaged labour. This scenario also points to the specific challenges each of these sectors offer for workers to escape super-exploitation and oppression in the workplace.

There are other limitations of this study in relation to research design. The extent to which the socio-economic vulnerability of Haitians impacts on their reality was underestimated. Consequently, there are two key aspects which may impact the findings. Interviews were not conducted in Haitian creole, the native language of Haitians, and some participants seemed not fully comfortable in describing their meaningful experiences in depth in either French or Portuguese. Although French is an official language in Haiti and Portuguese is the language spoken in Brazil, they are not easily accessible for all Haitian workers, who are often isolated and lack educational opportunities in both Brazil and Haiti.

Moreover, their sense of insecurity and vulnerability made several Haitians apprehensive about research as a positive contribution to their reality. The decision to make audio recordings and the need for written formal consent created further

challenges. As discussed in Chapter 3, several Haitians, mainly those in the buffer zones, perceived research as a possible threat to employment or their visas in Brazil. Although they were assured of anonymity, they mentioned rumours about possible retaliation against those who complain about their working and living conditions. This scenario was also worsened by the political crisis, the rise of hateful discourse and the negative portrayal of Haitian workers in the Brazilian media. While this contributes to highlight their subordination in Brazil, it created further challenges for research. Observation and informal discussions with migrants in these buffer areas as well as research in other sites mitigated this issue. A possible alternative avenue for empirical research is a research methodology which shows stronger and more medium-term commitment to these communities and better reflects the social value of research for these workers.

Finally, another aspect of the experience of Haitians in Brazilian society is an important variable missing in the analysis: their resistance. This thesis underplayed the role of migrants' resistance against super-exploitation. While data did not point at it as central to the experiences of Haitians, future research into local community relations might explore the role that other important social actors play in reproducing the mechanisms of subordination, as well as building potential alliances in the workplace and elsewhere. A possible explanation is the recent nature of Haitian migration, which has made these social practices less visible. In this sense, it is important to explore how evolving social tensions in Brazil affect the rest of the working class. For instance, this is important in order to develop a deeper understanding of the links between the emerging forms of employment in Brazil and super-exploitation, as well as of the existing efforts of grassroots movements and civil society organisations to support migrant workers in their struggle for better living conditions.

### 7.4 Contributions to research and implications of findings

This section discusses in three key contributions of thesis to the literature and presents its conclusion. To date, this thesis has offered a deeper understanding of the super-exploitation of labour and its relationship with south-south migration. It shows how the

wages of Haitian workers were driven below the amount necessary for their social reproduction. This thesis will now move forward and focus on how these findings advance the understanding of migration-development nexus in peripheral countries and, foremost, its relationship with super-exploitation in the 21st century.

### 7.4.1 The sphere of social reproduction in super-exploitation

The social reproduction approach adopted in this thesis offers an innovative theoretical perspective to the existing literature. This thesis expands the conventional understanding of super-exploitation because its focus on the social reproduction of Haitians in Brazil shows an appreciation of the broader social relations in which these workers are involved both in and between Haiti and Brazil. This reinterpretation examines not only the technical aspects of labour exploitation which are predominant in the literature, but also what they actually mean for workers, unveiling the patterns of control and the asymmetrical power relations which ensure the subordination of Haitians to super-exploitative practices in the workplace.

The formulation of this innovative theoretical framework shows the multidimensional nature of super-exploitation. Although it is a defining conceptual feature of super-exploitation, the relationship between processes of production and reproduction were previously under-developed in the literature. Given the complex governance of international migration and the previous limitations of state-centric approaches in the literature, the focus on the experiences of Haitians was fundamental to creating a wide and comprehensive analysis that accounts for the links between different borders, regulations and sites which shape the social reproduction of Haitians. In this sense, the predominant focus on the workplace of Haitians in Brazil, the receiving state, would be insufficient for theorizing the opportunities international workers provide for super-exploitation in the 21$^{st}$ century. As a result, the theoretical and methodological effort to elaborate this conceptual tool portrays migrants as being embedded in a dense network – which incorporates citizenship, workplace practices and transnational dynamics – , showing the similarities and limitations in the struggle

of Haitians in relation to previous studies and the situation of the rest of the working class in Brazil.

Across the aforementioned categories, the focus on the social reproduction of Haitian workers challenged hegemonic assumptions in the development-migration nexus in the existing literature. The core of this critique is that migration cannot be isolated from the broader political economy of peripheral countries, including the super-exploitation of labour. Several descriptive analyses have provided notions of development in which the understanding of migrants' employment experiences is mostly related to individualistic perspectives rather than subordinated to broader structural contexts – i.e. notions of migrants as heroes of development instead of positioning their struggle against the neoliberal attacks on the working and living conditions of the working class worldwide. Moreover, such critique in this thesis is also aimed at challenging northern centric approaches to labour migration, which although helpful to elaborate a theoretical framework in contemporary capitalism, have relied substantially on patterns of re-production in developed countries. A critical reconstitution of super-exploitation as a historical category in Latin America, showed the local social forces behind this phenomenon in peripheral capitalism.

More broadly, this thesis contributes to the literature by offering a better understanding of the chains of reproduction within the production process. This integrative approach shows that the social relations which bond workers to super-exploitation are more complex than the geographical location of their workplaces in peripheral countries. In Brazil, it refers to the colonial legacy and how the role that was given to the local dominant class in the colonial economy has been reinforced over time. It continues to inform social inequality, local structures and strategies for commodity led-development, shaping production and reproduction processes in which workers are embedded. When it comes to the experiences of Haitian workers, the meaning of these findings is that the whole process – reproduction and production – is exploitative as their emigration in commodified, which add extra costs to their social reproduction at different stages of their journeys and makes them vulnerable for super-exploitation.

One explanatory element is how the super-exploitation of Haitians is closely linked to the Brazilian citizenship model. As Chapter 4 showed, notions of social wages and the welfare state – so dominant in the literature on migration – are not only

estranged from the reality of Brazilian workers but also offer further challenges to Haitian migrants. The features of local citizenship were illustrated by the extension of historical gaps between the minimum and the living wage; cities divided into wealthy residential bunkers and large peripheral areas; the reproduction of colonial legacies; and the reverberations caused by the lack of effective social and employment rights. Despite recent efforts to reduce socio-economic inequality in the Brazilian citizenship model, the experiences of Haitians are hampered by broad structural inequalities related to the legacy of repressive patterns of governance in Brazil – i.e. military dictatorship and colonialism – and regulatory mechanisms – insecurity in relation to migratory status, their lack of rights in relation to trade union organisation or taking part in public protests, the devaluation of professional and education qualifications, and an interdiction to work in the public sector. As Chapter 4 explored, the citizenship model pushed Haitians to the bottom of the labour market and facilitated their subjection to labour intensive sectors. The lack of settlement policies is aggravated by previous mentioned political restrictions as well as the devaluation of the previous employment experiences and qualifications of Haitians workers. The access Haitians have to citizenship indicates the kind of citizens Haitians were expected to be: flexible workers who pay full taxes, but lack decent working conditions and have no access to social and political rights, such as higher public education and political organisation. This means that, although Haitians benefit the local citizenship model to particularly meet the productive need of the state and reproductive need of local citizens, Haitians are forced to absorb the social costs of the inequality, which ultimately leave their own reproductive needs to the private sphere where it will be susceptible to further commoditization. The absence of social rights puts further pressure on Haitians to sell their labour power to achieve the living conditions they expected for themselves, while providing a much-needed workforce for labour intensive sectors.

Moreover, the fact that a large extension of the social reproduction of Haitian workers occurs on a transnational level entails a new form of understanding of super-exploitation. Transnational dynamics are complex social processes and class relations which the Brazilian political economy cannot explain by itself. As Chapter 5 and 6 showed, the clear orientation of the Haitian state and their networks are far more complex than typically discussed in the literature for several reasons. Haitian networks include Haitian migrants, their communities in Haiti, charity institutions, smugglers,

police officers, embassy employees and trade unions. Conceptually, these emerging relationships between network members result foremost in further socio-economic costs: flight tickets, extortion, robberies, visas and, mainly, the separation form their families and communities – who depend on remittances to afford the cost of basic living expenses and of privatised social services in Haiti. These elements also represent a pattern of control. The indebt of Haitians caused by these migratory journeys and the need for sending of remittances payments to family members become essential elements for an appreciation of their attitudes and decisions in the workplace. Although networks assist in paying the costs of migration and share in the cost of social reproduction, they are also responsible, in part, for the rising living costs of Haitians in Brazil. This is due to the fact that migrants who receive support from networks are expected to contribute to supporting to supporting fellow network members – these are mainly Haitians who also struggle against the lack of social rights and decent wages in Haiti. Meanwhile, social actors such as trade unions and charity institutions, although they have very different natures and purposes, facilitate the incorporation of Haitians into extremely precarious employment relations in which workers are subject to super-exploitation. These patterns of social reproduction mean that social networks thus assume a reproductive-exploitative role in the formation of super-exploitation that conventional frameworks previously relegated to citizenship and, foremost, to working conditions.

Therefore, both the Brazilian and Haitian state greatly benefit from this network model of social reproduction to super-exploit these workers. In resonance with previous findings (Ferguson and McNally, 2015), this study highlighted that the separation between places of production and reproduction relates to a pattern of subordination as either the Haitian or the Brazilian state is responsible for the social reproduction of Haitian workers. However, this thesis advances this understanding and shows the outcome of this relationship in terms of workplace dynamics and in the conceptualisation of super-exploitation – whose existence is intrinsically related to the structures of the colonial economy and its enduring inequality along race and class lines. Although Haitians sell their labour and pay their taxes in Haiti and Brazil, they must ensure their social reproduction and that of a ‘reserve army’ (Marx and Engels, 1975) which is in Haiti, including the next generation of exploitable workers. Therefore,

the transposition of the reproductive endeavours to Haitian networks creates an extra degree of wealth which is designated to capital.

One outcome is a deepening subordination in the workplace due to the regularity which social reproduction requires. Although the income of Haitians is susceptible to fluctuation, as will be further developed in the next section, the frequency of social reproduction comes to be independent, although subordinated, to this process. The expenses of Haitian migrants and their networks, both in Haiti and Brazil, are recurrent and driven by the existence of these people. As Haitian networks have a very limited capacity for supporting these workers without the wage labour of migrants, this chain of social reproduction contributes to a continuous pattern of subordination to super-exploitation.

### 7.4.2 The formalised informality

The second contribution identified in this thesis is the emergence of a formalised informality in employment in Brazil. Findings show that, while the modalities of super-exploitation remain largely unchanged, the restructuring of production has facilitated the means to achieve it. This is because these changes have reduced workers' protection and thus expanded unequal power relations in the workplace, increasing the entrenchment of informality into employment relations. These may be seen in terms of the humanitarian visa, citizenship, and employment – all of these elements are broad concepts largely marked by undefined boundaries and the porosity between formal and informal relations. As a result, the practices of super-exploitation become available to capital through new channels which exist in and beyond the workplace.

In Brazil, the restructuring of production has created new opportunities for super-exploitation. The class conciliation built through the neoliberal citizenship model and associated populist discourses (see Swyngedouw, 2010) of employment opportunities obfuscates the inherent contradictions and class inequalities of the Brazilian development model, including the deterioration of employment relations. This is because economic growth largely depends on the extraction and export of natural resources and the exploitation of cheap labour in labour-intensive sectors. Such

understanding is important when it comes to how Haitians fit into the local working class and the acutely asymmetric power relations in the workplace. As Chapter 5 showed, the employment of Haitians in fast-expanding labour-intensive sectors – agribusiness and civil construction sectors – relates to a demand for a specific morphology of employment: flexible work, high turnover rates, low wages, insecurity, outsourced jobs, manual labour, and the extensification and intensification of the working day.

Despite the economic growth during the Brazilian development model, these sectors not only continuously relied on super-exploitation but also expanded it with the deepening flexibilization of work and the higher pressures to accommodate the incoming flows of capital amidst a period of remarkable economic growth. Large infrastructure projects and industrial sector support from government meant an expansion of labour-intensive sectors ran in parallel with the low unemployment rate and the reduction of domestic migration – a pattern of migration which historically benefited these sectors. Meanwhile, the entry of an extremely vulnerable Haitian workforce into the labour market satisfied these conditions for super-exploitation, while also preventing potential pressures for wage rises and industrial action. As Chapter 5 R2 highlighted, although Haitians had formal employment relationships with employers, this did not protect them. The position of vulnerability of Haitians was perceived by employers as a means for different modalities of super-exploitation, including the violation of their already limited work place rights. However, the increase of surplus population is but one element which allows for the super-exploitation of Haitians in labour intensive sectors. This is because employers must compel Haitians to work in these super-exploitable jobs, which requires a unique pattern of control that traps workers in these situations.

As findings in Chapter 5 showed, the organisation of this productive engagement depended on practices and processes which are conventionally overlooked by the existing literature as they constitute chains of social reproduction in which Haitians are embedded. The definition of buffer zones brings theoretical and geographical visibility to how the multidimensional struggle of Haitians is produced across sites and space a social cordon around Haitians which circumscribes their trajectories in the labour market. The character of the buffers illustrates this argument and marks an important contribution to the existing literature because it sheds light on

how Haitian workers were made available for super-exploitation and how the informal organisation of the entry of Haitians in the labour market increases their dependence on their employers and reinforces practices of super-exploitation.

The ongoing recruitment practices in these areas are also reinforced by the entrenchment of informality in employment relations. As Chapter 5 showed, there has been an emergence of social actors such as community networks, churches and volunteers serving the role of agencies and therefore becoming less formal employment interlocutors. Formal legal restrictions between employers and employees, as commonly described in the literature (Anderson, 2010; Ruhs and Anderson, 2006; Findlay et al., 2013; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008), often tie Haitians to employment agencies and jobs. The emerging social actors and their informal practices now perform a similar role in Brazil in an emerging multidimensional formation – defined in this thesis as buffer zones. Employers have not only had access to a surplus labour force but also have not had to pay for recruitment intermediaries – i.e. agencies or smugglers. Moreover, employers largely benefited from these buffer zones due to the standardization of flexible employment conditions which gave them easy access to a numerically flexible workforce, which because it was trapped at the bottom of the labour market, matched the specific cycle of production – i.e. harvest periods and construction projects – required by these employers.

However, buffer zones reflect not only the social-economic vulnerability of Haitians upon arrival in Brazil, but foremost the fact that their immigration status fails to ensure them of minimum living standards. This insufficiency of the immigration status adds to limitation in formal citizenship and employment conditions, shaping a particular porosity between formal and informal relations which ensures the social reproduction of workers under this structural hardship. As R1 discussed, the humanitarian visa granted to Haitians focuses on the full incorporation of Haitians into the labour market rather than on a more comprehensive set of socio-economic and cultural policies that are more urgent in a humanitarian context. This access to an already exclusive citizenship model expands the extent to which new migrants are exposed to the multiple barriers of local inequality and to the inefficiency of social policies. In relation to the conditions of the local citizenship model, it is no coincidence that comparisons can be made between this current situation and the treatment of people of African descent following the end of slavery in Brazil (Fernandes, 1975;

2008). The colonial legacy still shapes patterns of deep social inequality and subordination to super-exploitation. In this sense, the formal inclusion of Haitians into the local citizenship model has not ensured dignified working conditions them but has pushed them to buffer areas where they are more vulnerable to super-exploitation. This results in the need for informal network relations to ensure that workers survive despite their low income.

As Chapter 6 showed, informality is also present in the migratory journeys of Haitians despite the offer of a Humanitarian visa status. The global containment of workers in the periphery for super-exploitation (Smith, 2016) has also served to commodify the transnational journey of migrants and subjected those on the move to further economic exploitation (by a range of agents during the journey). The particular historical and spatial circulation of Haitians has shaped the composition of super-exploitation because it has provided a further source of value extraction through the spatial character of their social reproduction. Under such regulatory conditions, despite the humanitarian visa and rhetoric, Haitians were susceptible to the action of smugglers, human traffickers, and demands of extortion from immigration officers. The outcome of this collusion between the neoliberal state and criminal networks is that transnational hierarchies are being transferred into workplace dynamics and super-exploitation.

All of the dimensions – flexible employment, citizenship, buffer zones, the humanitarian visa, and the nature of migratory journeys – point to their subordination to the formalised informality existent in the labour market. It is worth highlighting that these forms of subordination have often occurred prior to the employment relationship, which represents a crucial distinction in the way super-exploitation is conceptualised in the existing literature. They are important to this conceptual discussion because informality has further penetrated employment relations following the deepening flexibilization of labour. This allows employers to incorporate elements of workers' struggle for social reproduction into workplace dynamics, including modalities to attain super-exploitation. This is illustrated in the use of Haitian network to recruit workers or in the wiliness of Haitians to work overtime hours due to the instability of their jobs and their need to send remittances to their families in Haiti – strategies which often serve to transcend the remaining legal boundaries of employment relationships in Brazil. In this sense, the way Haitians are embedded in 'new peripheries' in different social

settings, pushes them to experience new forms of flexibility in relation to their social rights and working conditions at the bottom of the Brazilian labour market. For employers, this degree of subordination enables cheaper labour costs. As the opportunity for alternative employment conditions in Brazil is drastically decreasing, more workers find themselves in similar situation in the workplace. Therefore, although these undefined boundaries make Haitians peripheral in terms of social rights, these are the same intersections which put Haitians at the centre of emerging forms of labour exploitation in the Brazil's development model.

### 7.4.3 A re-theorised notion of super-exploitation in the periphery

This thesis contributed to the literature by presenting a broader, innovative analysis of how super-exploitation and south-south migration should be better theorized in the 21th century. The super-exploitation of Haitian workers in Brazil is none other than the expansion of capitalism in the periphery and the contradictions it entails. It includes the neoliberal governance of migration and the deregulation of labour which expand the forms of inclusion in the formation of super-exploitation. This standardization of the conditions for labour exploitation offered capital access to an extremely vulnerable pool of labour in Latin America, while expanding global disparities between developed and peripheral countries and imposing restrictions on the social reproduction of labour worldwide. The super-exploitation of Haitians in Brazil's development emerges as a result of this deeper level of integration of super-exploitation into the global market.

The transnational composition of the Haitian workforce in Brazil's development model becomes a new instrument to achieve super-exploitation. The complexity of the struggle of Haitians for social reproduction and their relationship with employment outcomes shows this wider organisation. The emerging forms of super-exploitation require a pattern of subordination which cannot be fully explained by working conditions themselves. It is necessary to develop a deep understanding of how the political economy of capitalism has impacted not only on economic but also on complementary extra-economic forces which enable capital to drive wages below the

sum required for the social reproduction of workers. In this sense, the ability of this thesis to expose these wider struggles defines its central contribution.

By exploring the chains of reproduction within the production process, this thesis shows the extent to which the strategies for super-exploitation of Haitians draw upon the extensive externalisation of the costs of social reproduction to workers before, during and after their participation in the labour market. In this sense, the main distinction between the super-exploitation of workers (SE) and the 'normal' labour exploitation (NE) from the conventional literature on migration is that the extent to which the experience of workers is entrenched between production and reproduction processes. This is one central element that makes super-exploitation a defining and historical feature in peripheral countries such as Brazil. Rather than a structural mechanism in which the Brazilian state ensures the social protection of workers, the local system of exploitation empowers employers. This distances the Brazilian system from the idea of a Keynesian welfare state system and the regulation of decent wages and working conditions. In this sense, the Brazilian citizenship model acts predominantly as an instrument of control, largely designed to ensure that workers meet conditions for super-exploitation. As a result, one conclusion to be made is that the local citizenship differs from the convention in developed countries because the Brazilian citizenship model is not hegemonic, in market and political terms, but coercive as it relies on the repressive capacity of the state to subordinate workers rather than on the social rights and on the consumption power of workers. Therefore, these findings reveal the specific reality of the peripheral state and highlights citizenship as one of the foundations for the predominance of super-exploitation in Brazil.

These structural conditions make social reproduction more challenging for workers. This is because they are extremely vulnerable and unable to negotiate the terms of exchange of their labour – and, instead, they are largely dependent on extra-economic activities such as informal networks and deals to survive – i.e. paternalism and brokerage. The fact that both employers and Haitians operationalise network relations illustrates this scenario. It also points to flexible boundaries for capital accumulation and to the entangled productive-reproductive-exploitive relationships, thereby shaping the ability of capital to push the wages of workers below the value of

their labour power in Brazil. Therefore, at the most abstract level, the super-exploitation (SE) of Haitians in Brazil can be represented as follows:

‘Normal exploitation’ (NE) = Relative (R) +Absolute (A) surplus value - social reproduction (SR) in the home and community and the state (the social wage).

SR is double edged – it is both reproductive as in regenerative and supported by a range of social relationships characterised most typically by citizenship rights which depend upon and sustain one another. These are thus hegemonic in so far as they are defined by relationship of coercion plus consent.

SE = R+A+ surplus value exploitation + social reproduction (SR) in the home and community and the state (the social wage).

SR constitutes one aspect in a relationship characterized by an absence of state support and beyond citizenship. This means while social reproduction support community members, and is necessary for the reproduction, they serve to deepen subordination.

The subordination of Haitians to super-exploitation specifically transcend the standard subordination of Brazilian workers due to the way the lives of Haitian workers are both politically and economically subordinated, transforming them into a particular category of *peripheral worker*. Their peripheral condition is embedded in their everyday lives in different social settings, shaping their motivations, limitations and strategies for action, wherever they are. It has been overdetermined by social spheres which manifest themselves through and beyond the workplace – racism, spatial marginalisation, humanitarianism, language, citizenship restrictions, transnational networking, remittance payments, migratory journeys and visas – all of which eventually enhance employer’s capacity to confine Haitians to a condition of super-exploitation. Therefore, the peripheral condition of Haitians has created a unique condition to enable super-exploitation, comprising not only an economic dimension but also a myriad of other social elements, as summarised in the following table:

| Social Costs | Economic Costs | Benefits for Capital |
|---|---|---|
| • Fewer social rights in the short term (i.e. education, and political rights).<br>• Lack of settlement policies (language and accommodation policies).<br>• Racial discrimination.<br>• Socio-spatial isolation in urban peripheries.<br>• Psychosocial costs (i.e. separation from family, immigration journeys, cultural differences and new class position in Brazil).<br>• Potential physical and health issues (due to workplace and non-workplace dynamics. | • Immigration costs (i.e. visa fees, extortion, travel tickets).<br>• Commodification of social rights.<br>• Low and intermittent wages (due to High unemployment risk and low social security).<br>• The difference between the minimum wage and the living wage.<br>• Remittance payments to family and communities abroad.<br>• Devaluation of professional and educational skills. | • Lower recruitment costs with immigrants already in Brazil.<br>• Higher supply of cheap and vulnerable labour.<br>• Lack of recruitment regulation.<br>• Formal regulation of low wages (the minimum wage).<br>• Reproduction of a reserve army abroad (made though Remittance payments)<br>• Fewer social rights in the short and long term (pensions and social benefits).<br>• Inexistent or low level of organisation among migrant workers. |

Table 7.1: Summary of the main costs super-exploitation imposes on migrant workers in addition to workplace dynamics.

More broadly, this thesis shows that new forms of super-exploitation involving south-south migration are marked by the re-inscription of employment and living conditions of workers in contemporary capitalism. The use of migrant workers in peripheral countries become a form of transnational subcontracting which allows the state to re-write the condition of labour in socio-economic terms and commits them to the principles of super-exploitation. The re-inscription serves the receiving state as a means to circumvent the regime social rights, labour protections and ignore social costs which are arising from the process of labour exploitation, shaping forms of social,

occupational and geographic stratification. In this context, one important distinction between developed and in peripheral countries is that this process not only renders international migrants peripheral to the few mechanisms of social protection indigenous workers had managed to secure in the Global South, but also exposes migrants to the prevailing structures which colonialism was built: the process of super-exploitation happens in resonance forms of with key features of this model such as racial discrimination, dehumanisation, extreme poverty, patronage and, employment in slave like-conditions.

The confluence of these elements reveals how super-exploitation is important for understanding the broader transformation in contemporary capitalism worldwide. The evolving political character of capitalism and its use of super-exploitation resonates with the growing availability of surplus population, the standardization of tasks, the suppression of social rights and deterioration of working conditions. The situation of foreign workers in developed countries is an example, although not restricted to them. The emergence of discriminatory immigration policies have excluded these workers from social rights, decent wages and working conditions. In this sense, the benefits for capital in the use of migrant labour have drawn not only on the shortage of labour, but on what the growing surplus population has allowed capital to access.

While these new workers face these conditions, the working class is still able to access, even if in an increasingly restricted way, the structural residue of Keynesian welfare systems to escape super-exploitation (Stewart and Garvey, 2015). These emerging advances in developed countries have been to a certain extent a defining element in peripheral countries. This is because super-exploitation relates to the nature of the peripheral state in the global market and the use of repressive state apparatuses such as colonialism and military dictatorships to ensure this system over time – i.e. the dramatic difference between the minimum wages and the living wage as well as the lack of social rights in Brazil**.** This legacy has allowed the subordination of a continental surplus population to the organisation of elitist models for economic development: an instrument designed to optimize capital accumulation which show disregards for environment and social costs, ultimately offering few limits to profit maximisation. These conditions are now reinvigorated by new technologies of migratory control and blurred boundaries of in-formality in peripheral countries.

The experiences of Haitians in Brazil expose these emerging relationships. The Brazilian attempt to develop an inclusive social system is limited by these historical contradictions and emerging trends in the global market. As this thesis shows, Brazil has deepened its dependence on commodity exports and on cheap and unskilled labour to increase its competitivity. While the standardisation of flexible employment arrangements facilitated this process, employers required further subordination to their cyclical demand for labour. This largely explains why Haitians are so attractive to employers in so far as they offer an economic and political potential for further subordination and dependence. A reason for this scenario is that the profit rates and the level of subordination capital has required to super-exploit workers in the workplace only comes with the kind of social relations super-exploitation engenders. It is in this sense that the position of vulnerability in which Haitian workers, conditioned through a series of in work and out of work subordinations, becomes integral to super exploitation.

More broadly, a second explanation is a potential that a foreign supply of labour offers for the structural expansion of super-exploitation. The neoliberal governance of migration and emerging social relations among workers have allowed capital to unravel its strands from the process of social reproduction. As R3 showed, the costs of social reproduction are progressively being transferred to Haitian workers and their social networks (Fergusson and McNally, 2015; Peña López, 2012) make a similar argument), who provide capital with a brand-new workforce for super-exploitation. Neither the Brazilian state nor employers ensure the social reproduction of Haitians, although they benefit from Haitian labour, taxes and other compulsory social contributions (i.e. pensions). Neither the Brazilian nor the Haitian state provide Haitians with social rights for their social reproduction at any stage of their lives outside the production process – from childhood to death. The only contribution capital makes for Haitian workers is their extremely low wages when they are in the workplace. This is the reason Haitians sell their labour under super-exploitative conditions while also depending on their collective agencies to struggle for survival.

Therefore, these findings represent an important advance in the understanding of super-exploitation and the use of migrant labour worldwide. The cost of recruitment and of the social reproduction of workers are removed from the expenses capitalists have as part of the production process. Nevertheless, this strategy comes with the

inherent contradictions capital produces; the crises of social reproduction and, currently, the unprecedented waves of migration worldwide. The neo-liberal patterns of governance also shape new power relations and allows the emergence of new social actors such as transnational organisations and smugglers. As Haitians indicate, the expansion of these conditions makes super-exploitation unbearable for them to ensure their local and transnational social reproduction in the long run. This is especially so when Brazilian economic growth stagnates, and Haitians are unable to compensate for their low wages with overtime hours or multiple jobs. One outcome of this process is the beginning of new migratory journey in which Haitians will face new but also very similar challenges.

The limited chances for social transformation of this reality exposes the need for an alternative model of economic development. The advances of capitalism in Brazil represents the expansion of a system which already grants the local elite large autonomy to exert their interests and to extend labour exploitation even by coercion when necessary. The entire constellation of social relations (i.e. citizenship and community relations) in which Haitians are embedded constitutes a pattern of domination which cannot be broken by better jobs. This is because the super-exploitation of Haitians is not simply determined by their oppression in the workplace, but by a form of class domination, given the social inequality and oppressive state apparatuses, which necessarily lead to the inability of workers to ensure decent employment and living conditions. These dynamics constitute a complex social phenomenon that exists beyond Haitian migrants; they ultimately refer to the struggle of whole working class in Brazil. Therefore, the very basic structure of capitalist society in Brazil involves the cultivation of super-exploitation and, for that reason, must be surpassed. This means that the alternative to super-exploitation cannot be an idealistic notion of a welfare model. The reorganisation of the whole production system with a focus on the structural improvement of working conditions and the elimination of class inequality can offer real solutions against super-exploitation.

However, Brazil's new plan for economic development seems to point emphatically in the opposite direction. Following the data collection period, the country has introduced several reforms and austerity measures which focus on cutting social expenses and reducing labour costs to attract foreign investment. Although the country finally approved a new migration law (Law n. 13.445/2017) after decades of social

struggle, several controversial vetoes of the law have increased the vulnerability of migrants (Ramos, Ventura and Dallari, 2017). More broadly, Brazil, one of the most unequal countries in the world, has also approved a controversial labour reform bill; which seeks to relax the definition of slave labour (ILO, 2017); dramatically reduce investment in labour inspection (Magalhães, 2017) and frozen social spending for 20 years, which has been described as the 'most socially regressive [law] in the world' (Watts, 2016). Finally, Brazil also elected a far-right government on a commitment to expanding this neo-conservative agenda. These escalating attacks against workers emphasise the importance of more organic forms of organisation outside the formal state apparatuses to build a common and transformative agenda.

## 8. References


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